

THOMAS W. FRANXMAN

GENESIS AND THE
"JEWISH ANTIQUITIES"
OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS



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Preface

At Oxford University, in early March of 1975, the present investigation was submitted to the Board of the Faculty of Oriental Studies and, having been duly examined and approved, became the basis upon which its author was subsequently awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

To my "Doktorvater", Dr. Geza Vermes, Fellow of Wolfson College, Oxford, I owe the suggestion of the theme of this work as well as the abundant counsel necessary to ground, define and initiate an investigation of this kind. The fruits of his knowledge of, and enthusiasm for, the entire field to which this investigation belongs have proven a continuing inspiration, while his confidence in the viability of the project once undertaken did much to encourage my seeing it through to the completion which, but for his generous assistance on one occasion in particular, might not otherwise have been achieved.

Thanks are also unquestionably due to my examiners (Doctors Sebastian P. Brock, of Oxford, and Nicholas R. M. De Lange, of Cambridge) for their patient reading of the submitted thesis, and to my colleagues at the Pontifical Biblical Institute for unremitting encouragement to publish it.

THOMAS W. FRANKMAN, S.J.

Rome,
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Introduction

1. Flavius Josephus and His Works

The author, a portion of whose literary productivity this present investigation undertakes to scrutinize, is scarcely either anonymous or uncelebrated. Flavius Josephus not only left behind him an autobiography but also speaks of himself in the course of his three other extant works. Extending from the reference made to him by his younger contemporary, Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus (c. A.D. 75-150), notices of Jos. and his writings parade down the centuries and into the era of printing.¹ Then, in the last half of the fifteenth century, there begins to appear, and gradually to swell, that tide of translations, editions and monographs among which it is altogether possible to find expert accounts of our author's life and works in general as well as of many significant aspects thereof.² Modern scholarship has succeeded in producing a clear and definitive bibliographic picture of the results of these more recent centuries of attention.³ Thus, it might justifiably be said that neither Flavius Josephus nor his works are in want of a detailed identification.

¹ The chatty Suetonius mentions Jos. in his life of Vespasian (V/6), the context in question being Jos.' celebrated prognosis of Vespasian's future greatness. A collection of passages referring to Jos. and drawn from sources extending into the fifteenth century is to be found in a series of nineteen unnumbered pages at the beginning of the first volume of the HUDSON-HAVERCAMP edition of Jos.' works published in Holland in 1726.

² Four editions of the Greek text of the works of Jos. deserve immediate attention. The first edition was published by FROBENIUS and EPISCOPIUS at Basel in 1544, under the direction of ARNOLDUS PERAXYLUS ARLENIUS, and has ever remained important. In 1726 there appeared, in two volumes, the edition of J. HUDSON (Oxford: 1720), improved and expanded by S. HAVERCAMP, and published at Amsterdam-Leyden-Utrecht. The HUDSON-HAVERCAMP edition introduced a system of text division which is still frequently used for reference. Finally, there are the two great editions: B. NIESE's in seven volumes (Berlin: 1885-1895) and S. A. NABER's in six (Leipzig: 1888-1896). NIESE's edition has been adopted as authoritative for this investigation and his system of numbering the various sections of Jos.' text (an improvement over the older HUDSON-HAVERCAMP notation) has been followed throughout. Among the valuable aids to understanding Jos.' text, the Latin translation thereof is of ancient provenance (end of the 6th century A.D.) and not to be discounted. This present investigation has made use of the Latin version as it appears in the edition of Franz BLATT, *The Latin Josephus I. Introduction and Text. The Antiquities: Books I-V* (Aarhus: 1958).

³ Most, if not all, articles, books or portions of books which treat of Jos. also append some sort of bibliography. The two most useful bibliographical tools for working with Jos., however, are now L. H. FELDMAN's *Studies in Judaica, Scholarship on Philo and Josephus (1937-1962)* (New York: 1963), and Heinz SCHRECKENBERG's

The literature produced by any author, however, is so closely linked with his own personality and to the times in which he lives and writes that to begin our investigation with some chosen generalities respecting Flavius Josephus and the phases of his life is not only a fitting and logical point of departure but also one which is truly necessary for our purposes.⁴

Jos.' *floruit* places him squarely within the second half of the first century of our era. His life may, for convenience, be divided, according to the facts at our disposal, into three sections: (1) his early and (presumably) formative period, extending from the year of his birth (A.D. 37-38) to his mid-twenties (64); (2) the spate of years during which public affairs and national responsibilities would seem to have commanded most of his time and attention (64 to 71); (3) his later life when, in residence at the capital of the Roman world, he produced the four works, a part of one of which is the subject of this present study. If or for how long he may have survived Domitian (who was removed from the scene in A.D. 96) are questions to which there are no definite answers.⁵ The first and third of these periods must now be examined in order to project the background against which it is intended that a useful picture of our author take shape.

Jos. was born at Jerusalem and into a world by then dominated for already a century by the Roman imperial government. His growth to maturity took place under the distant aegis of the curious, colorful and last three members of the Julio-Claudian house, and beneath the more proximate influence of the Judaeac Procurators and, between A.D. 41 and 44, Herod Agrippa I. In Jos.' case especially, it is necessary to take note of this socio-political influence at once and not merely because it was his eventual and willingly accepted fortune to enter (and at the very highest level) into a relationship with the world's rulers which was much closer than that which, as a relatively anonymous subject, he had experienced as a formative element throughout the entirety of his early life. What Jos. thought, or at least accepted, Roman power to be, influenced directly his attitude regarding the identity and destiny of his own nation and people. This attitude, in turn, might logically be expected to color his

Bibliographie zu Flavius Josephus (Leiden: 1968). The annotations given in both these excellent works are extremely helpful.

⁴ Summaries of Jos.' life are of course abundant. Under the article entitled "Josephus" the following authorities have written for the following works of reference: A. EDERSHEIM, *A Dictionary of Christian Bibliography*, III, 441-460; Samuel KRAUSS, *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, VII, 274-281; B. NIESE, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, VII, 569-579; G. HOELSCHER, *Pauly-Wissowa RE*, IX, 1934-2000. More recently Jos. has received excellent general treatment in the first volume (pp. 43-63) of the new English edition of Emil SCHUERER's *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, ed. G. VERMES, F. MILLAR, P. VERMES and M. BLACK (Edinburgh: 1973).

⁵ One of Jos.' writings was published after the death of Agrippa II (cf. the *Life*, 359-360). According to PHOTIUS (*Bibliotheca*, 33), Agrippa II died in A.D. 100. PHOTIUS' testimony has, however, been called into question. Nothing is known of any association of our author with an emperor later than Domitian.

exegesis (or such of it as he was willing to publish) of the sacred history of the Jews. To whatever extent our author possessed either a sense of history or an appreciation of his own politico-religious identity, his ability to bow to the manifest destiny of Rome may well have warped them both.

The other chief point to be mentioned regarding Jos.' early years is his education.⁶ Coming of a distinguished priestly family and being himself destined for the priesthood, Jos. might easily be expected to have been exposed to the fine education which his own statements declare that he both received and absorbed with great aptitude. His careful rabbinical formation prepared him by the age of fourteen (A.D. 51-52) to be so expert in the knowledge of the law that he was consulted on difficult points thereof by eminent and older contemporaries. At sixteen he evidently attempted to broaden his horizons beyond the confines of his own particular academic milieu by a practical sampling of life and thought among Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes, concluding these experiments with a three-year period spent as a hermit. By nineteen Jos. seems to have felt prepared to make the choice which turned out to be in favor of casting his lot with the party of the Pharisees. Whatever this particular association may have meant in terms of specifically academic formation, it may be presumed to have lasted for seven years until, in A.D. 64, he undertook the journey to Rome which, at least for us, marks the beginning of his absorption into public affairs. It is to this short and not altogether informative *curriculum vitae* that one is forced to look in order to gain some notion of the formation in sacred law and lore wherewith Jos. eventually approached his task of retelling the Genesis narrative. Long and early exposure to, as well as a seemingly quite personal involvement with, Jewish religious traditions and convictions are the two things which distinctly emerge from the facts as we have them. Unfortunately, Jos. tells us next to nothing about the methods employed by his various instructors or about the very identity of these instructors themselves. Both his temporary and (in and after A.D. 57) permanent association with the Pharisees, however, would surely have brought him into the world of the first generation of Tannaim and of the disputes between the rival schools of Hillel and Shammai. About this we can but conjecture.

By the time Jos. embarks upon what has been already spoken of as the third period of his life, he is close to the very middle of his thirties. His new (and well provided for) home in the capital of the Roman world enjoyed both the relative peace which the Flavians brought to their imperial inheritance and the personal comforts attendant upon the patron-

⁶ We are indebted for these few details to Jos. The *Life*, however, treats mainly of his work as commanding officer in Galilee (A.D. 66-67). What little else he gives us about himself must be gleaned from the autobiographical notes which precede (*Life*, 1-27) or follow (*Life*, 414-430) that portion of his past which our author seems to have been most interested in describing.

age of the emperor himself. In rather clearly fixed succession, Jos. then produced the writings which have made him the figure that he is.⁷ The seven books of the *The Jewish War* (*Historia tou Ioudaïkou polemou*) were written between A.D. 75 and 79; the *Jewish Antiquities* (*Archaiologia Ioudaïkē*) saw the light in the thirteenth year of Domitian (93-94).⁸ The *Life* (*Bios Iōsēpou*), according to the present text of the *JA* (XX/266), was intended and published as a sequel to the longer work (cf. also the *Life* itself, 430). The defense of the Jews, which comprises two books and which is now commonly referred to as *Against Apion*, made its appearance subsequent to the *Jewish Antiquities* and doubtless but shortly thereafter.⁹ The date at which our author took leave of his productive life is, as has been said, somewhat doubtful.

Before quitting this elenchus of Jos.' literary output, it is necessary to mention the fact that there are some other writings which: (a) he gives some indication of having actually composed;¹⁰ (b) he had the intention of composing; (c) tradition has fathered upon him.¹¹ Only category (b) is to our purposes and therefore must be dealt with.

Jos.' literary aspirations seem to have at least partially concretized themselves in three directions. In his first authentic work (*BJ* V/237, 247) there was announced a book which would deal with Jerusalem, the Temple, the sacrifices and worship. Secondly, and, to the purposes of this investigation somewhat significantly, there is the notice (*JA* XX/268) of a theological work in four books upon God, His nature, and the grounds of the mandates and prohibitions of the Mosaic Laws. Since this projected work is doubtless referred to during the course of Jos.' handling of the Genesis narrative (I/29, 192, 214) as well as in the Preface to the whole of the *JA* (I/25), attention must be called to it at once. Finally, according

⁷ The abbreviations used for Jos.' works tend to employ the Latin form of the titles. This investigation will have occasion to use two of these: *BJ* for *The Jewish War*, and *CA* for *Against Apion*. The *Life* (usually abbreviated as *V*) is always referred to by its full (English) title, and the *Jewish Antiquities* (usually abbreviated *AJ*) is likewise given or abbreviated (*JA*) in its English dress.

⁸ According to Jos.' own testimony (*CA* I/51), *The Jewish War* when completed was presented to Vespasian (who died in A.D. 79). The Temple of Peace, which DIO (Lxvi/15/1) says was consecrated in A.D. 75, is referred to as completed in *BJ* VII/158-162. The publication date of the *JA* is given in *JA* XX/267, Jos. adding that he is fifty-six at the time.

⁹ The *JA* is referred to in the *CA* several times (I/1, I/54, I/127, II/136, II/287).

¹⁰ A work which Jos. seems to imply he composed was a history of the Seleucids and such references as are assumed to be made to this work are found in the *JA*. A quite thorough treatment of the evidence for this work's existence is contained in Emil SCHUERER, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 BC - AD 135)*, ed. Geza VERMES *et al.* (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1973), I, 56-57.

¹¹ Some Church Fathers (e.g., EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA and JEROME) attributed *IV Macabees* to Jos., and PHOTIUS (together with JOHN PHILOPONUS, JOHN DAMASCENE and JOHN ZONARAS) maintained (*Bibliotheca*, cod. 48) that a certain philosophical refutation of Plato (which he knew under three titles) was also the work of our author. The work to which PHOTIUS refers is actually of Christian origin and, according to modern critical opinion, belongs to HIPPOLYTUS. Cf. SCHUERER, *op. cit.*, I, 55.

to JA XX/267, Jos. evidently intended to write another historical volume dealing again with the Jewish war and following the fortunes of the Jews up to the date of writing.

About Jos.' literary period in Rome, one somewhat instinctively tends to reach out in two directions, but neither of these provides much definite information. The first question deals with his milieu in Rome itself: what writings were available to him, with what persons was he able to meet and discuss his own writings, what position if any did he hold in the Jewish community? The second is merely the first with an extended horizon: what was his practical contact with Palestine and the rest of the Jewish world outside Rome? Would that it were possible to say!

It is to be hoped that this short frontispiece to our investigation provides us with at least two things: a factual background which will give a kind of stiffening to the personality of the man whose words and thought will be the object of long and detailed attention; and a general indication of some of those obscurities of Jos.' career upon which a closer study of the content and style of his work may be expected to shed some light, however little.

2. The "Jewish Antiquities"

The scope of Jos.' career as a writer as well as the historical context in which this career took shape have now been dealt with. However, before going on to a general examination of the purpose and content of the *Jewish Antiquities*, a portion of which forms the basis of our own peculiar investigations, it would be well to remark on the overall apologetic character of Jos.' surviving works. The *Life* was composed in defense against personal charges our author wished to refute publicly,¹² and his other three literary productions reflect his concern to defend his people and their traditions. *Against Apion* is an apologetic piece pure and simple, while the introduction to *The Jewish War* gives clear enough indication of its author's intention to give the lie, from the vantage point of personal experiences, to those who had maligned his nation.¹³ As for the *Jewish Antiquities*, the fact that its main aim was to present the cultured world with an adequate concept of the calumniated Jewish race appears obvious from its overall presentation and is expressly stated by Jos. himself.¹⁴ So much having been said, we may now pass on to a brief look at the *Jewish Antiquities* as a whole.

¹² JUSTUS OF TIBERIAS had written an account of the Jewish war in which Jos. was presented as the real organizer of the rebellion in Galilee. The bulk of the *Life* is a self-vindication and, for this reason, this work scarcely merits being termed an autobiography in the full sense.

¹³ Cf. BJ I/1-30.

¹⁴ Cf. JA XVI/174-178.

Both the deliberate arrangement (into twenty books) and the very title (*Archaiologia Ioudaïkē*) of the *Jewish Antiquities* have given rise to the conviction that Jos. had the work of Dionysius of Halicarnassus in mind when he undertook the composition of this the longest of his own writings.¹⁵ After a relatively brief preface (*JA* I/1-26), the narrative takes us from the creation of the visible world down to the outbreak of the war with the Romans in A.D. 66 and concludes with a short epilogue (*JA* XX/259-268). Subsequent scholarship can only be grateful that the manuscript traditions of this long and indisputably important work are as good as in fact we find them.¹⁶

These twenty books are so arranged that their mid-point constitutes the history of the Babylonian exile, the exilic period comprising the final portion of Book X. The six hundred years between the decree of Cyrus and the outbreak of the rebellion against Rome thus take up the entire second half of the work. The Jewish scriptures themselves form the basic and principal sources for the narrative of Books I through X and for most of Book XI. It is now time to review in brief Jos.' concept of these scriptures and the extent to which he employed them when writing the first eleven books of the *Jewish Antiquities*.

In a justifiably celebrated passage in the work known as *Against Apion* (I/37-40), Jos. places the number of authoritative scriptural books at twenty-two and thence proceeds to describe their content. Five are the books of Moses which cover, according to our author, a period falling a little short of three thousand years. Thirteen books, written by the prophets subsequent to Moses, contain the history of the Jews between the death of Moses and the reign of Artaxerxes. The remaining four books contain hymns to God and precepts for the conduct of human life. Though this description is not as clear and precise as one might wish, it is commonly supposed that the four books mentioned last comprise Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon. By placing Lamentations and Ruth with the work of Jeremiah and the Book of Judges respectively,

¹⁵ Under Augustus, DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS wrote his history of Rome (*Rōmaikē Archaiologia*) in twenty books. The significance of the term "archaiologia" has been examined by Arnaldo MOMIGLIANO in his article, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XIII (1950), 285-313. This author contends that, by the time of Jos., the word simply meant "history from the origins" or "archaic history".

¹⁶ A brief but good account of these manuscripts is given in F. W. HALL, *A Companion to Classical Texts* (Oxford: 1913), p. 244. The fullest description thereof, however, is still that of B. NIESE in the Preface to the first volume of his edition of Jos.' works (Berlin: 1887-1895), pp. v-lxxx. Books I-X of the *JA* are represented by two classes of manuscripts, the first and better being extant in two specimens: Codex Regius Parisinus 1421 (R) and Codex Bodleianus miscell. gr. 186 (O). The second class embraces all the other manuscripts [e.g., Codex Marcianus gr. 381 (M), Codex Vindobon. hist. gr. 2 (S), Codex Parisinus gr. 1419 (P), Codex Laurentianus plut. 69 cod. 20 (L)]. There will be occasion to refer to and prefer certain readings from one or the other above-mentioned classes.

the thirteen books of history alluded to would then include: Joshua, Judges + Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, Esther, Job, Isaiah, Jeremiah + Lamentations, Ezekiel, the "Minor" Prophets, and Daniel.

Assuming this to be the canon which Jos. had in mind, to what extent did he employ these sources in constructing that part of the *Jewish Antiquities* which is chiefly dependent upon biblical materials? Jos. will omit Job altogether. The four books of hymns and maxims find a place only in the general allusions to David and Solomon as being authors of the kind of compositions which we in fact find in our copies of these books and to which the name of one or the other of these persons is frequently attached.¹⁷ A relatively sparing use is made of the literature of the "Latter Prophets," only four of the twelve "Minor" Prophets (Jonah, Nahum, Haggai and Zechariah) entering the narrative,¹⁸ and but vague mention being made at all of that part of the work of Jeremiah which we know as Lamentations.¹⁹ Any general speculations regarding the intentions of Jos. in bringing the historical and religious traditions of his nation to the attention of his reading public must needs be controlled by these reflections on the extent to which he did *not* undertake to mediate the entirety of these traditions.

The first eleven books of the *Jewish Antiquities* are constructed upon their scriptural bases in the following fashion. The Pentateuch occupies Books I through IV, while Joshua, Judges + Ruth and the first four chapters of (I) Samuel are placed in Book V. The rest of Samuel, together with the entirety of Kings, takes up Books VI through X. Ezra-Nehemiah provides the bulk of the historical narrative of Book XI. With and after XI/304, Jos. enters the period which takes him beyond his scriptural sources. Within this overall pattern the stories of Daniel (Book X) and Esther (Book XI) are given due attention, and the figures of seven literary prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Jonah, Nahum, Haggai and Zechariah) are accounted for.²⁰ Various details from Chronicles are discoverable here

¹⁷ David's talents and activities as musician and composer are recorded by Jos. in *JA* VII/305-306. Solomon (*JA* VIII/42-49) "composed a thousand and five books of odes and songs and three thousand books of parables and similitudes..." One must compare this with the text of I Kings 4/32 to appreciate the touch of exaggeration that Jos. has added to the fame of Solomon.

¹⁸ Jos. connects Jonah with the prophet of that name mentioned in II Kings 14/25 and, in *JA* IX/206-214, incorporates the Book of Jonah directly into his account of Jeroboam II. Similarly, Nahum and his prophecy against Nineveh become part of the history of Jotham of Judah (*JA* IX/239-242). Haggai and Zechariah enter into the account of the building of the Second Temple in *JA* XI/96 and 106.

¹⁹ In *JA* X/78, Jos. says, basing his statement on II Chron. 35/25: "And the prophet Jeremiah composed a song of lament for his [Josiah's] funeral, which remains to this day".

²⁰ The extent to which Jos. has incorporated the figures of the "minor" literary prophets has already been mentioned in this Introduction (above). Isaiah is an active member of Jos.' cast (*JA* IX/276 and X/12-35) in connection with the reign of Hezekiah (II Kings 18-20) and is again referred to during the time of Cyrus (*JA* XI/5-7) and when Onias decides to build another temple in Egypt (*JA* XIII/64-71). Jeremiah is

and there in the pentateuchal narrative but are of most frequent occurrence from the end of Book V through Book X.

With this general sketch of what Jos. has and has not done with scriptural sources in the composition of the *Jewish Antiquities* we are now in a position to concentrate on the organization of our author's presentation of the Pentateuch — the portion of his work which contains the material to be examined in our investigations. Between Genesis (I/27-II/200) and Deuteronomy (IV/176-331), Jos. has so arranged things that the material of Exodus is more or less equivalent to II/201 - III/203, while the narrative strand of Leviticus and Numbers is followed in III/204 through IV/175. Our adopting this form of projecting the matter of the Pentateuch as developed by Jos. is deliberate in that it is meant to give several distinct impressions. Genesis (one and one-half books) stands as a clearly defined unit at the beginning, as does Deuteronomy (one-half a book) at the end. In between, Exodus and Leviticus-Numbers both constitute two halves of a book (and so are equivalent approximately to one book apiece) and undergo internal omissions and rearrangements, as well as mutual transpositions of material, an account of all of which, however, would require the work of a separate treatise. It is to our purpose to note at this juncture that among the five books of Moses it is Genesis which receives at Jos.' hands a treatment which contrasts impressively with that given to the other portions of the Pentateuch both as to length and fullness, and in the care taken not to make the kind of large-scale redistributions of the scriptural data which Jos. elsewhere makes.²¹

In summary: Book I of the *Jewish Antiquities* extends from the creation of the visible world to the death of Isaac (Genesis 35); the Genesis narrative continues through well over the first half of Book II which ends with the crossing of the Red Sea (Exodus 15); the rebellion of the Israelites after the departure from Sinai (Numbers 14) closes Book III, and the death of Moses Book IV.

The point has now arrived at which Jos.' Genesis narrative can become the exclusive focus of attention.

all a part of the fall of Jerusalem (JA X/78-185) and is mentioned again (JA XI/1) when it comes time for the Babylonian exile to come to an end. Like Jeremiah, Ezekiel is a personality in our author's account of the fall and exile of Judah (JA X/79-141).

²¹ The sojourn at Sinai (JA III/62-294) is a special case in point. Nothing in Genesis is reshaped on such a large scale as this section of the Pentateuch.

3. The Genesis Narrative of the "Jewish Antiquities" Compared with Genesis

This first preliminary examination of the Genesis narrative of the *JA* will take the form of an overview of various aspects which our author's presentation has in common with Genesis. This is thought to be an important step in the introductory considerations not merely because it constitutes an objective evaluation of our author's work from a point of view which renders access to this work easy and more natural for anyone with the slightest acquaintance with Genesis, but also and more essentially because we here treat of matters which in effect will be the counterpoise of all that follows and to which we will not have the opportunity of again returning for so full a study.

The sequence of episodes which actually go to make up the material of Genesis is imitated by our author with unquestionable fidelity. The omission of Genesis 38 is the only major break in an otherwise consistent following of the original. With respect to the redistribution of one or another section of the narrative, Jos. felt freest, it would seem, in the case of genealogical and chronological matters. Otherwise, there are only four instances where one finds an episode in an unexpected context: the account of the building of the Tower, the affair of Noah's drunkenness and curse, Abimelech's visit to Abraham, and Esau's foregoing of his birthright. In general, therefore, it can be said that the consecution of events in Genesis is substantially the same as that found in the *JA*.

Jos.' cast of characters remains quite as full as that found in the original. A few peripheral personalities such as Eliezer of Damascus (Gen. 15/2) and Ahuzzath, adviser of Abimelech (Gen. 26/26), are passed over, but the omission of obscure figures is *not* a general policy with Jos. Even the otherwise anonymous types who appear in genealogies and are never heard of again tend to be incorporated without hesitation. Among the better known individuals, only those who take part in the events narrated in Genesis 38 (which Jos. omits) might be said to be conspicuous by their absence.

So much having been said in general regarding the resemblance of the *JA* to Genesis, we now take up the brief scrutiny of certain specific areas which are of interest to Genesis and in which our author readily and enthusiastically follows the lead of his model.

a. Onomastics

An interest in the meaning of names applied to persons, places and things may seem to be a rather peripheral feature of Genesis; yet this interest is not only manifested frequently but extends throughout the

whole work, from the clear implication made with regard to the origin of the name of the first man (Gen. 2/7) up to the occasion when the Canaanites invent a new and significant appellation for the threshing floor of Atad (Gen. 50/11). The feeling that the nature and identity of anything remote become revealed in the discovery of "what's in a name" is perhaps what underlies this preoccupation which is by no means confined to the pages of Genesis or to the era of their composition.²² Probing the meaning of names is an activity in which Jos. follows Genesis with gusto.

Genesis, if it explains a name at all, tends to do so in the context of the name's bestowal.²³ Jos. runs ahead of his principal source by actually clarifying names which: are not found in Genesis at all (e.g., Sabbath); are found therein but not bestowed and hence not explained (e.g., Pishon, Gihon, Tigris, Euphrates, Abel, Melchizedek); are contained and bestowed in the original, but not explained (e.g., Moab, Benammi/Ammon, Benoni/Benjamin, Zaphenathpaneah). Our author seems also to wish at least to suggest an etymology for the "Araboi" who are not called by that name in Genesis; but we will return to this detail of Jos.' onomastics in a moment.

The above data should, however, be seen alongside a review of what Jos. omits. Several names are twice assigned in Genesis but such duplication Jos. quite understandably avoids.²⁴ Among names bestowed in Genesis but not even mentioned by Jos. there rank Er and Onan as well as the places YHWH-yireh (Gen. 22/14), Allonbacuth (Gen. 35/8), El-Bethel (Gen. 35/7), and Abelmizraim (Gen. 50/11). Likewise, there is no name given to God in the context of Gen. 16/13, and the *JA* knows nothing of the well Beerlahairoi, the altar El-elohe-Israel, or the pillar Mizpah. "Succoth" is not mentioned as such but is merely replaced by its Greek equivalent

²² A celebrated example of such interest outside the Bible is of course that manifested by the Stoics. We may read of this in CICERO's *De Natura Deorum* 2/7 and 2/64-69. The latter context is provided with a bibliography in the text of Arthur Stanley PEASE, *M. Tulli Ciceronis De Natura Deorum*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: 1955-1958), II, 709.

²³ The single seeming exception to this general principle is the bestowal of the name "Adam". The Hebrew word "ʾādām" has three senses in the first five chapters of Genesis: (1) mankind (Gen. 1/26-27 and 5/1-2); (2) a male human (the general usage of Gen 2/4b - 4/24); (3) the proper name of the *first* male human (used with certainty for the first time in Gen. 4/25 and thereafter in Gen. 5/1, 3-5). Usage (1) claims (Gen. 5/2) that God bestowed the name "ʾādām" *on the day* of the creation of the species to which it was applied, and usage (2) involves an etymological explication of the word "ʾādām" (Gen. 2/7) *on the occasion* when a (first) specimen of what the word signifies was brought into being. Thus, Genesis cannot be said to fail in this instance to conform to its general principle of dovetailing the explication and the bestowal of a name into the same event, seeing that the creation of the human species involves the production of at least one male human (Gen. 1/27; 5/2). The dovetailing is, of course, not perfect, for usage (1) extends the meaning of "ʾādām" over a larger category than the one allowed for by usage (2). Jos. is evidently conscious of this imperfection as we shall see when treating of his version of Genesis 2.

²⁴ The duplicates are: Beersheba (Gen. 26/33), Israel (Gen. 35/10), and Bethel (Gen. 35/15).

(i.e., Skēnai), and the cairn Galeed is itself given no name by Jos. but is said to be the reason why the hill of its location is "to this day" called "Galadēs" and the district "Galadēnē".

Judged merely on a quantitative basis, therefore, Jos.' narrative may justifiably be said to be as interested in onomastics as Genesis itself, even though our author quite noticeably shies away from too much involvement with the names of places and objects. It is Jos.' manner of dealing with the materials which he does include that must now be briefly considered.

In Genesis a name is explained in the context of its bestowal by a detail or story which clarifies the appropriateness of the name given. The name is then linked to this story or detail either by a reference in the explicative passage to the name's own literal meaning or by the presence in this same passage of a word which is, to various degrees, *similar* to the name and which anchors it to the explanation. Instances where the literal meaning of the name clearly plays its part are Perez (Gen. 38/29), Succoth (Gen. 33/17) and Isaac (Gen. 21/6), but this is not Genesis' more usual method. Establishment of similarity is ordinarily the principal concern, as is exemplified by the explication of the names of the first humans to appear in Genesis. Thus, "ʾādām" is related to "ʾādāmā", "ʾiššā" to "iš", "ḥawwā" to "ḥay", and "qayin" to "qānīti". The literal significance is actually by-passed in the first two cases in favor of Genesis' more standard method of procedure.

Needless to say, Jos., writing in Greek, cannot carry off this type of subtlety and it would be fatuous to discuss what would have been the better course for him to follow in this particular dilemma. The course he does choose, however, is not always a happy one. The general tenor of his method is the out and out declaration of the literal meaning of a name. The point has already been made that this method is not unknown to Genesis. The principal difficulty with Jos.' approach is that he will assign *literal* meanings to names which they in fact do not possess. The full extent of this difficulty will emerge during the course of our investigation.

It must needs be said, nonetheless, that Jos. had a real consciousness of the method (superficial as it might well appear to modern standards) which was employed by his principal source in dealing with a name's significance. Even though Sabbath does not *mean* "rest" as our author so confidently states (JA I/33), the instinct which tempted him to introduce an explication of the name of the seventh day of the week cannot have developed apart from an acquaintance with what Genesis does on numerous other and similar occasions. When Jos. takes up the question of the descendants of Ishmael (JA I/220-221) he seems to be hinting at a form of etymologizing which is again in keeping with the inspiration of Genesis. He tells us that the Arabian nation and its tribes had their names conferred upon them by the Ishmaelites in honor both of their own prowess

(*dia te tēn aretēn autōn*) and of the fame of Abraham (*kai to Habramou axiōma*). To despise our author for seeing in "Araboi" the first syllables of *aretē* and *Habramos* is really to miss the point that he knew as well as anyone else just how "superficially" the onomastics of his principal source tended to take shape.

b. Localization

The vivid narrative in Genesis cannot be accused of insensitivity to locale. The locale in question may in fact be the territory of a people, the place where an object, artificial or natural, is to be found, the setting of an event or series of events, or the merely accidental detail included in a story. The putting of things in their proper place is a fundamental theme of the whole of Gen. 1/1 - 2/4a. Thereafter, in the course of telling the tale whose principal thread extends from Eden (Gen. 2/8) to Egypt (Gen. 50/26), Genesis continually ornaments its pages with the type of localizing detail which Jos. proves quite ready to incorporate into *JA* I/27 - II/200.

Total or partial omission of certain Genesis episodes will naturally result in Jos.' failure to mention this or that place-name. Aside from this, however, it is somewhat surprising to find in our author no reference to Eden as the locale for his version of Genesis 2 and 3. Periodically, throughout the rest of his narrative, similar silences are observed. We hear nothing, for example, about the places involved in some of Abraham's early travels (Gn 12/4-9 and 13/1-4) or about Beerlahairoi.²⁵ Shechem, not Dothan (which Jos. never mentions), is the scene of Joseph's fateful confrontation with his brothers (Gen. 37/17).

These various lacunae are more than made up for, however, by the attention paid by Jos. to the localizing data of other contexts. Special interest is shown in the description of territories occupied by various peoples. Although the Ishmaelites (*JA* I/220-221) receive in quantity but what little that Genesis gives them (Gen. 25/18), the lands of the descendants of Esau (*JA* II/4-6) and of Abraham by Keturah (*JA* I/238-241) are dealt with in clearer detail than in the original, and the *JA*'s presentation of the Table of Nations (Genesis 10) goes far beyond Genesis in its concern for identifying and placing the various peoples listed.

Jos.' description of the four rivers of Genesis 2 is another instance of his expanding the topographical data of a given passage, and, from time to time, he will also take the trouble to insert a short clarification regarding a place whose identity Genesis has left less explicit. The spot where Noah's ark was grounded is specified as a mountain-top in Armenia (*JA* I/90) which the Armenians call the "landing place" (*JA* I/92). In

²⁵ Jos. drops Beerlahairoi both from the first Hagar story (Genesis 16) and from the two contexts in which it is connected with Isaac (Gen. 24/62 and 25/11).

the context of Genesis 14, the invaders are pursued by Abraham and his allies all the way to Dan which, Jos. says, is the name of one of the Jordan's sources (*JA* I/177). On his return from this same rout, Abraham meets Melchizedek who is king of the place (Solyma) which Jos. tells us is the same as the future "Hierosolyma" (*JA* I/180). When bidden to take Isaac to *to Mōrion oros* and sacrifice him (*JA* I/224), Abraham obediently proceeds to this place where, says Jos., King David later constructed the temple (*JA* I/226).

Our author is quite capable, however, of dealing with some of his topographical materials in a manner which is a little less than enlightening. The location of Abraham at or near Hebron is twice referred to by Jos. in a way which is somewhat puzzling. In *JA* I/170, this area received a description (cf. Gen. 13/8 ff.) which does not seem to fit it, and, in *JA* I/186, the oaks of Mamre, which are evidently intended, are designated the "oak called Ogyges" when Jos. is introducing the events of Genesis 16. When engaged with the matter of Genesis 14, Jos. has the occasion (*JA* I/174-175) to mention the lake called Asphaltitis and to promise a future reversion to this topic in his narrative. We are not enlightened any further on the matter, however, because Jos. does not keep his promise. Finally, the land where the Israelites settle in Egypt is called either the "land of Rameses" (Gen. 47/11) or the "land of Goshen" (Gen. 47/27), but Jos. says merely that they were allowed to live in Heliopolis (*JA* II/188). This may be either the result of confusing Heliopolis with Heroopolis (cf. *JA* II/184)²⁶ or a detail for whose inclusion he had some genuine warrant. If our author's ignorance of the Egyptian climate (cf. *JA* II/189) is any indication of the extent of his knowledge of Egyptian sites, however, it may be unnecessary to look beyond Gen. 41/50 for the name which Jos. calls attention to in that earlier context and somewhat arbitrarily incorporates into the later one.

Though it cannot be said that Jos. is unwilling to follow his original by ornamenting his own account with localizing details, it does seem somewhat unusual for one who was born and raised in Palestine not to be more interested in the topography of his homeland than Jos. actually appears to be when retelling Genesis. For all his obvious eagerness to take note of place-names, there is a contrasting lack of concern in making the territory with which he should have been most familiar "live" for his readers, and his picture of the physical setting of his accounts of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob thus emerges as a rather vapid, two-dimensional sketch.

²⁶ Heroopolis is the place where, in both the LXX and in Jos., Jacob and Joseph meet (Gen. 46/28-29). It is thus that Heroopolis becomes associated with the MT's "land of Goshen" which the LXX does not mention in its version of Gen. 46/28-29 and which Jos. does not mention at all.

c. Chronology

Superimposed and artificial as modern scholarship has tended to think much of the chronological data of Genesis to be, it must nevertheless be admitted that the fixing of life-spans and the setting up of a temporal framework for the vast panorama of events it undertakes to present are quite basic concerns of Genesis as we read it. Chronology would in fact be more fundamental a part of the fabric of Genesis' narrative than genealogy is if the trouble had been taken to reconcile, and then to justify accordingly, the data which is in fact given. We enter Genesis' chronological scheme with the birth of Seth (Gen. 5/3) and take leave of it only at the death of Joseph (Gen. 50/26).²⁷ For the sake of convenience and brevity it will be well to list, in the order in which one comes across them in Genesis itself, four general areas into which the raw material of Genesis' chronology can be grouped in preparation for a summary glance at exactly how Jos. addresses himself to the task of again following the original. These general areas are:

1. The chronological genealogy of the Sethites (Gen. 5/3-32);
2. The chronology of the flood (between Gen. 7/4 and 8/14);
3. The death notice of Noah (Gen. 9/28-29) and the chronological genealogy of the Shemites-Pelegites (Gen. 11/10-26);
4. The chronological references of various kinds scattered through the remainder of Genesis, from the death notice of Terah (Gen. 11/32) to that of Joseph (Gen. 50/26).

It may be noted preliminarily that any harmonization of the data of 3. with that of 4., or of the data within 4. alone, is not to be expected of the inclination (or perhaps even of the awareness) of our author.

1. There will be something to be said later regarding the relocation of this data within the overall scheme of Jos.' presentation.²⁸ For the moment, however, it is merely the handling of the data itself which is our concern. The numbers given by Genesis in this list are of three kinds: (A) the age of the individual at the birth of his son; (B) the number of years lived after this birth; (C) the total life-span. On these, Jos. ignores (B) altogether while making it clear that it is really only (A) that is at all to his purposes (*JA* I/88), for the computation of the date of the flood (*Anno Mundi* 2262, according to his reckoning) is the practical function he attaches to the inclusion of these figures. As is all too well known,

²⁷ The one chronological reference that jumps ahead, and outside of, the Genesis narrative is that of the period of four hundred years of enslavement predicted in Gen. 15/13. Jos. accounts for it, however, as he does for most of the other casual references of this kind (*JA* I/175).

²⁸ Cf. below, Introduction, p. 18.

the numbers given by Jos. for (A) follow the LXX and not the MT, while those of (C) copy both the LXX and the MT, except in the case of Lamech.²⁹

2. Jos. places the beginning of the deluge in the six hundredth year of Noah, on the twenty-seventh day of the second month — thus again following the LXX which also puts the event on that day, in contrast to the seventeenth day mentioned in the MT (Gen. 7/11). When it comes to the actual duration of the flood, however, Jos. is clearly at a loss in attempting to deal with the various details of Genesis where the downpour of forty days and forty nights stands over against a four-period system of reckoning in which modern scholarship has recognized a wholly different view of the catastrophe's chronicling.³⁰ Our author will account for the forty-day rain storm and, in coming to grips with the more complex time-scheme, explicitly mention the first period of 150 days between the second and seventh months, at which latter date the ark came to rest. In Genesis, the dispatch of the birds occurs after the second period (ending in the tenth month) is concluded, and Jos. also allows for a time lapse after the ark no longer remains afloat (JA I/90-91), but this lapse is not nearly as long and in no way as explicit as in the original (Gen. 8/5). Thereafter, he forgets about the remaining two periods (cf. Gen. 8/13a and 14) and his chronology takes its cue from the two-week period suggested by at least one interpretation of the number of intervals between the experiments with the birds.³¹ Our author's inattention to the difficulty of fitting an extra forty days into the period between the second and seventh months, and his seeming disinclination to follow even those reconciliations of detail which Genesis itself can provide for anyone willing to make the effort, both give the impression that Jos.' interest in chronology is real though half-hearted.

3. Noah's death notice, like most of the isolated bits of chronological data Jos. has incorporated from Genesis, stands, according to form and content, just as it does in the original. The Shemite-Pelegite list, like that of the Sethites, suffers a bit of stylistic manipulating which will be

²⁹ In the case of Lamech, the life span is seven hundred and seventy-seven according to the MT, seven hundred and fifty-three according to the LXX, and seven hundred and seven according to Jos.

³⁰ The four periods of the flood are thus marked off in the MT by the five following dates, an asterisk indicating those for which the LXX gives a variant:

1. Flood commences	2nd month	17th day*
2. Ark rests	7th month	17th day*
3. Mountain-tops visible	10th month*	1st day
4. Waters dried up	1st month	1st day
5. Earth dry	2nd month	27th day.

³¹ The loosing of the raven is followed by three dispatches of the dove. This could indicate a three-week time lapse if it were supposed that Noah waited a week between sending forth the raven and beginning his trials with the dove — a supposition which is supported by Gen. 8/10 which says that Noah waited *another* seven days before trying the dove for the second time.

noted later.³² Of the aforementioned types of numerical data, this tabulation in Genesis contains only (A) and (B), and Jos., as before, ignores (B). The figures this time are employed by our author for the practical purpose of computing the year (from the flood) in which Abraham was born (*JA* I/148-149). The dates given by Jos., however, consistently follow neither the MT nor the LXX.³³

4. Jos. is careful enough to include the various bits and pieces of chronological data scattered through the remainder of Genesis, omitting only the age of Ishmael at his death (Gen. 25/17), the age of Isaac at the birth of his sons (Gen. 25/26), and the age of Esau at his first marriages (Gen. 26/34). Jos. adds only one thing to his material,³⁴ but he frequently relocates the context where it occurs and in one case (the age of Isaac at death) changes the number which appears in the original. Reconciliation of the details of Genesis, however, seems, as was also the case in the flood chronology, to be again a difficulty when he treats of the ages of Sarah and Abraham at the time of the prediction of Isaac's birth.³⁵

In general, therefore, it may be said that Jos. does employ the bulk of the chronological materials of Genesis and in the same unreconciled *ad hoc* fashion as the original. The *JA* manifests no interest in creating a unified picture from the data at hand, even going so far as to change the functions of the two chronological genealogies so that they are made relevant to two specific dates rather than to the formation of a world time-scheme, and the two above-mentioned attempts at some reconciliation of chronological detail are no evidence for Jos.' penchant for or control of the mechanics of such a process.³⁶ In the area of chronology, our author seems merely to be more or less following what he is given and making what best of it he can.

³² Cf. below, Introduction, p. 18.

³³ "Kainan" and his dates are included in this chronological genealogy by the LXX but are not found either in the MT or in Jos. The chronological data given by Jos. copies the MT only in the case of Terah where Jos., the LXX and the MT are at one. Jos., in the other instances, follows the LXX for Arpachshad, Shelah, Eber and Peleg, but goes his own way for Shem, Reu, Serug and Nahor.

³⁴ On the occasion of Abraham's attempted sacrifice of Isaac, the latter is said by Jos. to be twenty-five years of age (*JA* I/227). Such an age for Isaac at this juncture of the Genesis narrative (Genesis 22) sorts well with the fact that Isaac would have been thirty-seven, according to a reconciliation of the chronological details of Genesis, when Sarah dies in Genesis 23.

³⁵ For a discussion of this problem, cf. p. 143 below. For whatever reason, Jos. seems to want to make the *prediction* of Isaac's birth, narrated in the context of Genesis 18, take place when Abraham is one hundred and Sarah ninety.

³⁶ The two attempts referred to are Jos.' treatments of the flood's chronology and of the year of Isaac's birth.

d. Genealogy

One of the most essential elements used to bind together the various personalities, details and events of Genesis is family relationship. Extending from the first human (Gen. 2/7) down to the great-grandchildren of Joseph (Gen. 50/23), the tissue of pedigree is the warp into which the woof of divinely providential action is threaded in order to produce basic sub-structure for the narrative of the first book of the Bible. The care and attention which Jos. applies to incorporating genealogical material into the *JA*'s account of Genesis are obvious so that it will be to our purposes merely to mention some of the twists which our author gives to his generally thorough following of his original in this area.

There is little of this type of material which Jos. omits altogether. Of the four truly genealogical lists of Genesis 36 (1-5; 9-14; 15-19; 20-28), our author by-passes the last (i.e., the descendants of Seir, the Horite) completely. By the excision of the entirety of Genesis 38 two sons of Judah, Er and Onan, are left out of account, and the descendants of Joseph who appear at the end of Genesis 50 (Ephraim's grandchildren, Machir, and the offspring of Machir) receive no mention at all.

Less wholesale omissions occur when Jos. deals with the three lists of the descendants of Esau. For this operation he employs Gen. 36/9-14, the second of the lists in question, as his basic text, thus automatically including all that is contained in the first (Gen. 36/1-5). The third list (Gen. 36/15-19) seems to have been ignored by Jos. since he fails to name the sixth son of Eliphaz (Korah) whose mention therein is the one distinguishing feature of this little genealogy. Dropped also from his presentation, however, are the four sons of Reuel, even though these same four grandsons of Esau are part of both the second and third tabulations.

Finally, there are those few little gaps in his genealogical accounts which Jos. has allowed to occur for one reason or another. Thus, out of mere consistency with an already established pattern, Er and Onan are not spoken of at all in the long Israelite list of Gen. 46/8-27. On the other hand, a clearly declared desire to avoid repetition has led Jos. to omit the actual names of Jacob's children given in Gen. 35/22b-26 and to be content simply to recall at this juncture how many children Jacob in fact produced and how many sons were given him by each of the individual wives and handmaidens. The same motive is doubtless operative when the Pelegite branch of the Shemites is presented (*JA* I/148) without reference to the four initial members of the Shemite line who have in fact been dealt with in an immediately foregoing passage (*JA* I/143-147).

Jos. makes but few additions to the lists of Genesis, and these additions are quite minor. Laban, who makes his first appearance in Gen. 24/29, is included by our author in the Nahorite roster which is given in Gen. 22/20-24 but which has nothing to say of this brother of Rebekah,

and, when giving his above-mentioned summary version of Gen. 35/22b-26, Jos. takes the trouble to say that Jacob has a daughter in addition to his twelve sons even though Genesis happens to ignore her existence in this particular context.

Sarah, the wife of Abraham, is presented by Jos. as the daughter of Haran and thereby replaces Iscah in the genealogical notice given in Gen. 11/29. But something close to a replacement also occurs in Jos.' handling of the Table of Nations (Genesis 10). Dodanim, son of Javan (Gen. 10/4) is dropped and "Phylistinos" is added to the sons of "Mersaios" (cf. Gen. 10/4, where the Philistines are said to descend from Casluhim). The maintenance at seventy of the number of persons appearing in this list may be the reason for the addition after the omission. At this juncture it might be well again to mention that this entire genealogy of Genesis 10 receives an attention from our author far exceeding that given it in the original.

But a special treatment is also accorded to both the Sethite (Gen. 5/3-32) and the Shemite-Pelegite (Gen. 11/10-26) chronological genealogies. Both lists are in effect given twice. Waiting until he has arrived at a point just previous to that (Gen. 7/11) wherein the date of the flood is mentioned, Jos. then gives the pedigree of Noah, in reverse order back to Adam and without reference to any chronology. The date of the flood is subsequently dealt with, and to his designation of the year, month and day Jos. adds the number of the year (from the creation) in which the deluge occurred — a number derived and justified by repeating the list with an appropriate selection of its chronological material appended. Later, by the removal of his account of Gen. 11/1-9 to a different context, Jos. brings the Shemite-Pelegite list into juxtaposition with the last (and Shemite-Joktanite) portion of the Table of Nations (Genesis 10). Our author first gives the names from this list which complete (but not repeat) the data on the Shemites given in Genesis 10 and immediately thereafter, in justification of the number of the year (from the deluge) in which he has said Abraham was born, goes, in reverse order back to Shem, through the pertinent chronological matter of the Shemite-Pelegite roster.

Similar to the relocation of the Sethite genealogy are three other transpositions effected by Jos. presumably for the sake of offsetting and employing the genealogical material of Genesis to better advantage. The Nahorite section of Abraham's family, about which we learn only as late as Gen. 22/20-24, finds its place in the *JA* in the context just following Gen. 11/32. Ishmael's descendants (Gen. 25/12-17) are appended to the end of the story of his forced separation from the company of his father (Gen. 21/9-21). Finally, Abraham's marriage to Keturah and the whole account of their offspring (Gen. 25/1-6) appears just after the death of Sarah (Genesis 23) and before the engagement and marriage of Isaac (Genesis 24).

Of the actual changes made by Jos. in the genealogical material of Genesis, those made in the list of Abraham's descendants by Keturah seem most radical and least explicable. The five sons of Midian are attributed to Medan, and the two sons of Jokshan to Shuah. A less spectacular alteration is made in the tabulation of Gen. 46/8-27 where Jos. makes Heber and Malchiel sons of Asher instead of his grandsons through Beriah.

With the above facts at our disposal it is easy to admit that Jos. not only takes an active interest in this whole area of the Genesis material but also handles it in a creative fashion which succeeds in emphasizing this very important aspect of the original.

e. The Deity

It virtually goes without saying that the whole of Genesis is a record of divinely providential dispositions. From the beginning of the visible universe (Gen. 1/1) to Joseph's assurance to his brothers that God would visit them and bring them out of Egypt (Gen. 50/24-25), the story is that of God's deliberate dealings with men. Into the episodes which both unfold, and are subordinate to, this principal theme, God is inserted in various ways. He and His activities are mentioned by the narrator himself, or one of Genesis' large cast of characters is quoted as speaking about or to Him. Most vividly of all, God is Himself frequently quoted. A few remarks on Jos.' awareness and treatment of this absolutely fundamental aspect of the narrative he is retelling will conclude our comparison of his version with his original.

In the preface to the *JA* (I/1-26) Jos. makes a series of enlightening statements. The lesson to be learnt, he says, from the entire five thousand year history he is about to review is that those who conform to God's will and do not transgress laws that have been excellently laid down prosper in all things and are awarded felicity by God, while those who depart from strict observance of these laws find all else impracticable and end in inevitable disaster (*JA* I/14). Shortly thereafter, Jos. focuses specifically upon the work of Moses and tells us that that sage considered it above all necessary, for one who would order his own life and legislate for others, first to study the nature of God and then, having contemplated His works in a rational light, to imitate and endeavor to follow that best of models (*JA* I/19). The second of these two declarations raises the question of exactly what Jos. thought was involved in the study of God's nature as revealed through His workings. Our author in effect hastens, in *JA* I/20-21, to tell us. This study reveals the existence of the universal moral order of which, as we have seen (*JA* I/14), Jos. has already spoken. More importantly for our present purposes, this study,

says Jos., is exemplified in that portion of the work of Moses which actually precedes the enunciation of positive law.

Since the Genesis narrative precedes the enunciation of positive law it should be clear at this point how the theological reflections of the preface to the *JA* relate to our investigation. Before taking leave of this preface, however, it would be well to note that therein twice over (*JA* I/15 and 24) Jos. entreats his readers to take a theological point of view when reading what is to follow. On both occasions Jos. indicates that Moses' narrative worthily portrays God's might, but on the second he also says that this same narrative appropriately represents God's love for man.

But how does Jos. actually go about fitting God into the narrative he is retelling? In Genesis, up to and including Abraham's migration to Canaan, God is an active participant in four sections: 1/1-4/16; 6/1-9/17; 11/1-9; and 12/1-9. Jos. simply omits the theophany of Gen. 12/7. Otherwise, while retaining the context in which they occur in the original, our author radically reduces the number of direct quotations which Genesis attributes to the Deity. The quotations are either omitted (as in most of Genesis 1) or reported (e.g. Gen. 1/3 and 12/1-3).

Throughout the rest of the *JA*'s Genesis narrative, the situation is as follows. Omitted altogether are the divine communications accorded Abraham in Gen. 13/14-17, Isaac in Gen. 26/24, and Jacob in Gen. 31/3, 31/11-13 and 35/9-12. All other direct quotations are reduced to being reported (in greater or less detail) except a small portion of God's words to Abraham (in Genesis 15) and two colloquies with Jacob (Gen. 28/13-15 and 46/2-4. Owing no doubt to the highly compressed nature of Jos.' retelling of Genesis 48-50 this section is drained of virtually all reference to God. This omission is more than compensated for, however, by the quantity of theological reflection incorporated by Jos. into his version of Genesis 37—a chapter wherein the original does not mention God at all.

The employment of angels as intermediaries of the Deity for communicating with men is a feature of Genesis which Jos. readily adopts. When confronted with the somewhat confused presentations of Genesis 18 and 22, however, Jos. chooses to retain the idea of an intermediary up to and including Gen. 18/21 but to excise it from his versions of Gen. 18/22-33 and 22/11-18.

4. The Genesis Narrative of the "Jewish Antiquities" Contrasted with Genesis

In turning from our consideration of what the Genesis narrative of the *JA* has in common with Genesis we in effect turn toward what is the basic theme of this entire investigation: the aspects of Jos.' presentation

which distinguish it, and set it apart from, its basic and principal source. It is along these lines that the examination of our author's work will now continue to the end.

A second and closer look at how Jos. imitates the consecution of events given in Genesis reveals the fact that he has changed the overall pace of the original. This is done by a notable shortening of the whole treatment of Gen. 25/11-36/43 (the story of Isaac and his two sons, in which Jacob, however, plays the major role). From being the second longest of Genesis' four major divisions, it is demoted by Jos. to being the shortest of his own. On the other hand, the Proto-History of Genesis (Chapters 1-11), from being the shortest of these divisions in the original, appears as the second longest in the *JA*. The stories of Joseph and Abraham, however, retain their relative proportions (longest and second shortest respectively). The ultimate effect of this alteration of emphasis is, of course, to underscore the Joseph story.³⁷

There are some aspects of Genesis' presentation which Jos. will ignore altogether. Lists which are not genealogies rarely occur in Genesis but when they do (Gen. 36/31-39 and 40-43) nothing is said of them in the *JA*. Similarly, some (at least nine) passages of Genesis are couched in poetic form, but if our author was aware of this he does not betray the awareness in his version. That Jos. was in fact conscious that, in the time about which he was writing, the conclusion of contracts was surrounded by a certain ceremonial is made clear in his account of Genesis 24 (*JA* I/242-243) but he consistently ignores this side of the Genesis narrative in other contexts, even where attention to it would be very much to the point (e.g., Genesis 23).

Two matters will now be studied in some detail. First, Jos.' superimposition of source citations upon his original, and secondly, the various methods whereby our author has in fact reshaped what he has retold.

a. Citation of Sources

The mention of sources is a frequent and familiar enough phenomenon in certain portions of biblical literature. Obvious examples would be the Book of Jashar (Josh. 10/13), the three sources mentioned in Kings (e.g., the Acts of Solomon), and the various works which the author of Chronicles seems to have had at his disposal. There is, however, an apparent lack of such citations in Genesis itself and it is quite unlikely that the suggestion of modern scholarship, that the recurring "*tôldôt*" formulae are indications of quotes from a separately existing genealogical document, would

³⁷ This conclusion was reached by comparing and contrasting Gen. 1/1 - 11/32 with *JA* I/27-153, Gen. 12/1 - 25/10 with *JA* I/154-256, Gen. 25/11 - 36/43 with *JA* I/257 - II/6, and Gen. 37/1 - 50/26 with *JA* II/7-200.

have occurred to Jos.³⁸ Nevertheless, source citation is a recurring feature of the Genesis narrative in the *JA* and a summary of its usage will constitute a good and useful example of one of the more striking and consistently employed "novelties" Jos. has introduced into his treatment.

Jos.' first and most important cited source in recounting Genesis is Moses himself. The identity of the "lawgiver" and the significance of his position in Jewish history and literature are heavily underscored in the preface to the *JA* (I/15-16, 18-24). As the authority Jos. is relying on when dealing with matters concerned with the origins of the world and the human race, Moses is mentioned again in the preface (*JA* I/26) and thrice in the course of the creation accounts themselves (*JA* I/29, 33, 34). Thereafter, Jos. himself does not refer to Moses as a source for the Genesis material or for any portion thereof, although two other authors quoted by Jos. (Nicolas and Alexander Polyistor) in fact do so. The recurrences of the Lawgiver's name in *JA* I/81 and 152 do not constitute source citations for the Genesis narrative.³⁹

As has been noted, Jos. seems to have been most anxious to connect the authority of Moses specifically with the story of creation. But there are five other contexts in his retelling of Genesis where Jos. will again invoke the names of others in confirmation of what he writes.⁴⁰ The flood, the longevity of the ancients, the building of the tower, the identity of Abraham, and the fate of Abraham's sons by Keturah are the contexts in question. For purposes of reference it were best to list these five in terms which indicate the precise point upon which the cited source is declared to speak in support of our author:

<i>JA</i>	<i>Context</i>	<i>Sources</i>
I/93-95	1	those who mention or relate the story of the flood and the ark
I/107-108	2	a. those who attest and concur with what Jos. has said regarding the longevity of the ancients b. those who report that the ancients lived for one thousand years
I/118-119	3	a. one who mentions the tower and the confusion of men's tongues b. one who speaks of the plain of Senaar

³⁸ The well known "tôldôt" formulae occur some eleven times in Genesis and it has been argued somewhat convincingly that they do in fact indicate a source quotation. The evidence and reasoning is summed up in John SKINNER, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis* (Edinburgh: 1910), pp. 39-41.

³⁹ *JA* I/81 speaks of Moses' alteration of the calendar on the occasion of the Exodus. In *JA* I/152 the fact that Moses lived to one hundred and twenty years of age (Deut. 34/7) is made to indicate that God continued to abbreviate human life-spans until He fixed the age limit at one hundred and twenty (cf. Gen. 6/3).

⁴⁰ A convenient listing of the source citations throughout the whole of the *JA* is to be found in G. Hoelscher's article "Josephus" in *Pauly-Wissowa RE*, IX, 1964-1965.

I/158-160	4	those who mention, write of, or make statements about Abraham
I/239-241	5	one who quotes a witness to Jos.' statements about Abraham's children by Keturah.

From the above array of material it should be obvious that Jos. has not much interest in employing source citation in his Genesis narrative after Abraham. His purpose in invoking outside authority seems often to be the historical substantiation of the slightly fabulous, though, in the cases of Abraham and of his sons by Keturah, that motive if present would be accompanied by the patent intention to enhance the importance of those concerned.

The actual names of the authors cited with respect to the above five contexts must now be considered. For the sake of brevity, it were best to list these names alphabetically, according to English spelling. The name is italicized if Jos., when mentioning it in *JA* I/93-241, in no way further identifies the author beyond the fact of his or her attestation of the matter to be substantiated.⁴¹ To each name, however, three references are appended: the indication of the above-listed context(s) in which the author's name appears, the number being underlined if the author is actually quoted by Jos.; the name of the other work(s) of Jos. where the author's name again occurs, *JA* signifying the *Jewish Antiquities* outside of the Genesis account (I/27-II/200); the sequence number (when available) in F. Jacoby's *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*, where a still larger identification of the particular author may be found.⁴²

<i>Acusilaus</i>	2b	CA	2
<i>Alexander Polyhistor</i>	5	—	273
Berosus	1, 2a, 4	JA, CA	680
Cleodemus/Malchus	5	—	727
<i>Ephorus</i>	2b	CA	70
<i>Hecataeus (I)</i>	2b	—	1
<i>Hecataeus (II)</i>	4	JA, CA	264

⁴¹ The way in which Jos. mentioned the authorities he cites during the course of his version of the Genesis narrative is somewhat haphazard. Berosus is identified as "the Chaldaean", Hieronymus as "the Egyptian", Nicolas as "the Damascene", while Cleodemus/Malchus is said by Alexander Polyhistor to have been called "the prophet". We are also told by our author that Hieronymus, Mochus and Hestiaeus were authors of Phoenician histories, that Manetho was the annalist of the Egyptians, that Berosus was the compiler of Chaldaean traditions, and that Hecataeus (of Abdera, presumably) left behind him an entire book on Abraham. Specific portions of the works of Nicolas are cited twice: "the ninety-sixth book" with reference to the flood and the ark (*JA* I/94-95), and "the fourth book of his Histories" regarding the identity of Abraham (*JA* I/159-160).

⁴² Full treatment of Mnaseas is not to be found in JACOBY. Instead, a reference is given to the coverage of this author in C. MUELLER'S *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, 5 vols. (Paris: 1848-1883).

<i>Hellanicus</i>	2b	CA	4
<i>Hesiod</i>	2b	CA	—
<i>Hestiaeus</i>	2a, 3b	—	786
<i>Hieronymus</i>	1, 2a	—	787
<i>Manetho</i>	2a	CA	609
<i>Mnaseas</i>	1	CA	FHG III/149-58; IV 659-660
<i>Mochus</i>	2a	—	784
<i>Nicolas</i>	1, 2b, 4	JA, CA, BJ	90
<i>The Sibyl</i>	3a	—	—

Some clarifications of this material are due. The quote from the Sibyl reflects the sentiments of a portion of the pseudepigraph which goes under her name (III/97 ff.), but it is not clear what work of Hesiod Jos. had in mind when the older author is said to have held that the ancients lived for a thousand years.⁴³ Hecataeus (I) is probably Hecataeus of Miletus, and the information given about him in the above tabulation is based on that conclusion. By the second Hecataeus Jos. doubtless meant Hecataeus of Abdera, though the book on Abraham which our author attributes to him is probably a later pseudepigraph popularly thought to be his work.⁴⁴ Cleodemus/Malchus is not directly quoted in the *JA* but his words are preserved within Jos.' quotation of Alexander Polyhistor.

This summary does not pretend to be a complete treatment of the sources cited in the Genesis narrative of the *JA*. Our efforts have been directed toward composing a synthetic, accurate, brief, but sufficiently detailed picture of the least subtle of Jos.' methods of restyling the first book of the Bible. It is an important method and worthy of at least as much attention as it has been given. There are, however, other and more generally employed means which our author has used in the accomplishment of his task, and an examination of these is our next preoccupation.

b. Retelling and Reshaping

Jos.' treatment of the Genesis narrative contrasts with the original in many ways far more subtle than the mere introduction of so patent a "novelty" as source citation, for Jos. has in effect retold much of Genesis. Throughout the course of the following investigation the discovery of what Jos. has retold and how he has reshaped what he has retold will form one of the two principal purposes of our efforts. Before proceeding further, therefore, it will be necessary to define what "retelling" means and

⁴³ The famous passage on the five ages of mankind (*Works and Days*, 106-201) is what our author perhaps has in mind.

⁴⁴ The assumption that the work Jos. has in mind is a forgery is based on the fact that CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (*Stromata*, 14/113) quotes spurious verses of Sophocles from what is quite likely the same source.

to describe the basic methods involved in our author's "reshaping" of the material at his disposal.

The force which the verb "retell" has, when applied by this investigation to Jos.' Genesis narrative, is "to tell in another form." Our concern, therefore, is not over the passage where our author informs us that "in the beginning God created heaven and earth," but rather with his declaration that God (instead of seeing "the light, that it was good") surveyed "the whole of matter." We do not need Jos. to tell us that after his return from Egypt Abraham settled in Canaanite Hebron (Gen. 13/12 and 18), but it requires no great knowledge of the geography of Palestine to know that, when our author says that Abraham settled in the "lowland" (*JA* I/170) left him by Lot, we have before us something which squares with neither Genesis nor possible fact. God is consulted before the birth of Isaac's sons, but why does Isaac and not Rebekah consult Him? Reuben speaks in defense of Joseph, but why so frequently with the words of Judah? "Retell" therefore does not mean "to tell again" nor does it mean "to reword." "Retell" means, in this investigation, "to tell in a different form."

Granted that there is an enormous quantity of the Genesis narrative that Jos. has retold (in the above-mentioned sense of the word), the next task is to discover *how* this retelling is actually accomplished. There are five general methods employed by Jos. to which the common designation of "reshaping" has been given. While retaining the actual details of Genesis, Jos. sometimes effects (1) a change of place or (2) a change of function, and, when introducing "novelties," he employs either (3) replacement or (4) simple addition; yet even the most cursory reading of the *JA* would indicate that (5) simple omissions are not rare. Our investigations will at least suggest, however, that what at first seems like a casual concurrence of omission and addition is, in fact, a replacement.⁴⁵

Simple relocation of detail is exemplified by the transfer of the detail given in Gen. 3/20 (the giving of the name "Eve" to the first woman) to an earlier context so that it is juxtaposed to the giving of the name "Woman" (Gen. 2/23) to the same person. Similarly, Abimelech's visit to Abraham (Gen. 21/22-32) is moved to a position immediately following the other story of the relationship between these two individuals (Genesis 20). Isaac's age at the time of his marriage (Gen. 25/20) appears in Jos. at the beginning of his version of Genesis 24, and Joseph's age (Gen. 37/2) is not revealed by our author until his narrative reaches the context of Joseph's sale to the merchants.

⁴⁵ Cf. below, p. 26. The importance of this sort of occurrence is such, however, that an example of it may be given at once. "Eden" disappears from Jos.' narrative but we will be led to ask whether the river which encircles the earth (*JA* I/38) and Cain's function as "instructor in wicked practices" (*JA* I/61) have anything to do with its disappearance (cf. pp. 51-52 and 71-72 below).

Change of the function of a detail or an event, however, is often in question. This is usually, if not always, accompanied by some other form of alteration, but nevertheless it does hold a distinct place among Jos.' methods of reshaping. From functioning as a member of a genealogy in Genesis 10, Nimrod is not only retained by Jos. but likewise given a whole new rôle. The same can be said for the numerous small details of the seven-day creation story which are retained but with a purpose and function differing from those given them in Genesis. A motive is given for Abraham's journey to Egypt (Gen. 12/10 ff.) which, though itself an addition, manages to assign to this entire passage a part it does not quite play in the original. Functional change is without doubt the most subtle of the methods of alteration employed by Jos.

Replacement occurs constantly in the *JA*'s version of Genesis. This method, though frequent, is usually practised within rather narrow limits. On the First Day of creation, morning and evening do not simply occur, but are named, and darkness is on the face not of the deep but of the earth. On the Second Day, however, a wholly different kind of divinely initiated act is substituted for the constitution of the heavens as we read of it in Genesis. For whatever reason, Jos. has Isaac die at 185 instead of 180, and it is God, not Sarah, who conceives the idea that Abraham should take Hagar as concubine.

Most of the attention paid to how Jos. has treated the Genesis narrative in the *JA* has tended to center around our author's additions to his original. This fact is unfortunate to the extent that it has either by-passed the other methods of alteration employed by our author or, by stressing these additions, distracted notice from just how much Jos. was prepared to retell what he purveyed. Familiar as most of the major additions are, some examples will not be out of place. The description of the Sethites and their achievements (inserted after Genesis 4), the treatment of the Table of Nations (Genesis 10), and the expanded version of the speech of Judah (Gen. 44/18-34) all qualify as instances of what is unquestionably one of Jos.' chief means of reshaping what he is retelling. It is again the smaller details, however, which often escape notice even in this better known aspect of Jos.' style, for our author has, after all, given any number of new dimensions to the life of Abraham by this process and the odd addition even in his most curtailed passages (cf. his account of the Sixth Day of creation) can have its own special significance.

When it comes to omissions, Jos.' account of Genesis is doubtless best known for its excision of the incest of Reuben (Gen. 35/22a) and the whole of Genesis 38. Almost countless much less noticeable details and events are omitted by our author, but again, very little notice has been given to the overall effect which a given omission may have in the narrative. The roles of Reuben and Judah in the Joseph story are certainly somewhat recast by Jos. and it is altogether probable that the above-mentioned ex-

cisions play a direct part in that reshaping of image which our author had in mind for Joseph's two older brothers.

The assemblage of the above remarks concludes what it appears necessary to say in general respecting the contrast which exists between Genesis and the *JA*'s treatment thereof. The remainder of this investigation will attempt to continue defining this contrast as far as possible.

5. The Purposes of This Investigation

Up to this point the introductory matter has attempted to progress through a series of generally informative stages which will form the necessary background for our investigation and which, by becoming progressively narrower in their scope, will tend to focus attention in the precise direction whither the main body of this investigation will proceed. The present section is intended both to bring the introductory matter to a close and to provide the specific framework for all that will follow.

The first and more fundamental purpose of this investigation is to determine, with respect to *JA* I/27 - II/200, both what Jos. has retold and how he has reshaped what he has retold. Enough has already been said on these questions to make clear what in fact this first purpose means and will involve. The "definition" of the work, or even of one aspect of the work, of a particular author is, however, not quite enough to make such definition sufficiently concrete and graspable. Literary milieu is, therefore, an important and even necessary factor in any attempt to clarify what an author has done.⁴⁶ For this reason, both *what* Jos. has retold and *how* he has reshaped what he has retold must be to a certain extent measured against a given set of literary parameters. Such "measurement" of both these aspects constitutes the second purpose of our investigation.

References which give a measure to the discoveries respecting what Jos. has retold can be and are drawn from numerous types of sources. Among these may be mentioned at once the whole body of Alexandrian Jewish literature (including Philo), the Apocrypha (in the narrower sense attributable to the body of literature usually denominated thus), the Qumran literature, the Talmud (in both its forms), Targumim, Pseudepigrapha and Midrashim. Needless to say, some sensible limitation to these references had to be decided upon and applied.

Adequate parameters for the description of Jos.' method, however, are not all that available. We are, after all, dealing with an interpretation of the entirety of Genesis and such large-scale efforts are not nearly as easily found as the treatment of individual details. For this reason limitation of reference again needed to be imposed.

⁴⁶ In fact, it must be kept in mind that it is in line with his function as exegete and not as historian and/or biographer that the fuller dimension of our author is intended to emerge.

The problem of limitation of references is resolved in this investigation by the choice of three parameters which will function as the *principal* sets of references in dealing with *what* Jos. has retold and as the *only* sets when there is question of *how* our author achieved what he did. These are, as the title of the investigations indicates: Targumic, Pseudepigraphic and Midrashic sources. A word must now be said about each of these types of literature.

The Aramaic versions of scripture known as Targumim are, as is well known, frequently made by their authors into something more than a mere translation. Like Jos., these interpretative works sometimes reshape what they retell. We are also fortunate enough to possess among the Targumim a relatively large corpus of material dealing with Genesis, and a sizable portion of this material covers the entire fifty chapters.⁴⁷ Not all the specimens of Targumim exhibit a great penchant for creative reshaping of the works they translate, but they do contain a quantity of this sort of thing sufficient to make them a logically primary parameter for measuring Jos.' efforts.

In the four hundred year period constituted by the two centuries immediately preceding and immediately following the opening of the Christian era, Jewish religious thought produced a number of works at the hands of anonymous authors. For want of a better designation, this material is usually denominated "pseudepigraphic" — a term which in no way either describes its content or its purpose. Scholarly convention more than anything else has determined what precise works are being referred to when the general designation "Pseudepigraphic Literature" is employed. These productions are nevertheless indisputably religious in character and continually take as their point of departure the thought and spirit, if not always the personalities and events, which scriptural sources afforded. For this reason, Pseudepigraphic Literature is in fact a rich mine of interpretative manipulation of normative religious tradition and therefore is unquestionably relevant to the purposes of this present investigation. Owing to the scope of their coverage of Genesis itself, two works especially must be noted: the *Book of Jubilees*, and the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Besides the three complete Targumim to Genesis (Onkelos, Pseudo-Jonathan and Neofiti) there are the Fragment-Targum (extant in five specimens) and the Cairo Geniza fragments edited by P. KAHLE in *Die Masoreten des Westens*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: 1927-1930). After P. Kahle, some Targum fragments relating to Genesis have been published by A. DÍEZ MACHO [*Sefarad*, XV (1955); *Studi sull'Oriente e la Bibbia* (Genova: 1967)] and by H. P. RUEGER [*Vetus Testamentum*, XII (1963)]. It should be noted, however, that it will sometimes be necessary to consult the Targumim of other books of the Bible when examining some of the details Jos. incorporates into his version of Genesis.

⁴⁸ The *Book of Jubilees*, according to the well qualified judgment of R. H. CHARLES, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, 2 vols. (Oxford: 1913), II, 6, was composed between 153 and 105 B.C. The Genesis narrative covered by this

Midrash is not an easy word to define, and to attempt adequately to do so would require more space and time than can be prudently spared at this juncture. Its basic significance is, however, "exposition," and in effect it has come to designate Jewish biblical commentary which goes beyond the mere literal interpretation of the scriptures.⁴⁹ There is no need to expand upon the obvious relevance of such commentary to our particular study of Jos. The sources of Midrashic Literature come to us in various forms, but only one of these will it be necessary to mention. Though Midrash of all sorts will be of interest to us in dealing with our discoveries regarding what of Genesis Jos. has retold, it is the extended and verse-by-verse exposition exemplified especially in the pages of *Genesis Rabbah* which will prove most specifically relevant when it comes to seeing our author's methods in comparison and contrast with those of others.⁵⁰

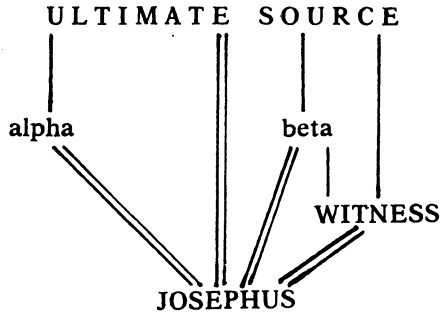
The whole process of placing in a literary milieu the "what" and the "how" of Jos.' retelling of Genesis runs the virtually inevitable danger of bringing it about that one no longer sees the forest for the trees. Guidelines which may help to avoid this danger will now be suggested.

A work may attract our attention because of the similarity of a detail contained therein with what Jos. has retold of Genesis. If it is a work earlier than JA I/27 - II/200, Jos. may in fact be dependent upon it, but there are at least three other possibilities to be considered. The matter may be summed up in the following diagram:

book is to be found between 2/1 and 46/5 of the fifty-chapter presentation. Attributed to PHILO though it has been, the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* is surely not his but the product of an author who lived in the second half of the first century A.D.; cf. Guido KISCH's edition of the Latin text (Notre Dame, Ind.: 1949), pp. 15-18. This book, in sixty-five chapters, covers biblical events down to the death of Saul. The Genesis section, however, omits Genesis 1-3, contains a most abbreviated account of the *biblical* material referring to the Patriarchs, and is found in chapters I-VIII.

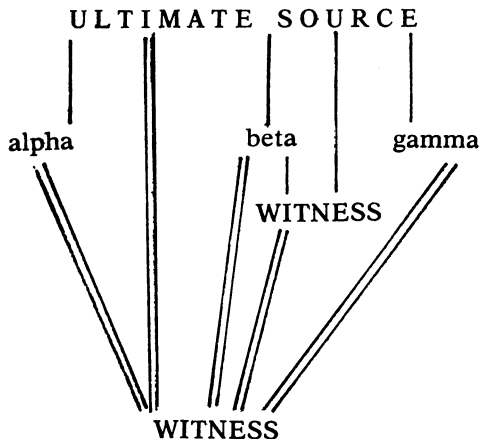
⁴⁹ For this reason Midrash cannot help but overlap a bit into the areas of Targumic and Pseudepigraphic methods. All three frequently "comment" on particular passages of scripture in a way which amounts to genuine expansion. The Targumim always maintain, however, their basic format of a translation, while the various specimens of Pseudepigraphic Literature tend to incorporate such "comments" into a creative and unified picture of their own design.

⁵⁰ This work is of a much later provenance than the works of Jos., its "terminus ad quem" being the early fifth century; cf. Hermann L. STRACK, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (New York and Philadelphia: 1959), pp. 218 and 65. It is, in the words of the above-mentioned *Introduction*, "partly simple explanations of words and sentences, partly, in frequently loose associations, briefer or more extended haggadic expositions and demonstrations, such as were customary in public discourses; often sententious sayings and parables are woven in." STRACK, *op. cit.*, p. 217.



Granting a theoretical "ultimate source," Jos. may be dependent upon this directly or upon an intermediate source (alpha) which is in fact independent of the tradition inherited by the "witness" which nevertheless does contain something similar to Jos. The "witness" may have derived what it has directly or indirectly (via beta) from the "ultimate source," in which case Jos. could still remain independent of the "witness" by dependence upon beta.⁵¹

In the case of works later than Jos., the "witness" may be dependent upon Jos. himself, in which instance the tradition may have originated with our author or may be one which he received in one of the four ways already mentioned. Five other possibilities exist, however, if one assumes that the later work can be dependent upon sources which were prior to Jos., and these may be outlined as follows:



⁵¹ Supposing (*ferme per impossibile*) that the "witness" is proven to be the "ultimate source", Jos. must be supposed to be related to it directly or mediately, and such mediation itself may or may not have a "witness". When there is a plurality of "witnesses" each case must be considered on its own, both in relation to Jos. and to the other "witnesses".

The sources pre-existing Jos. are the same in this scheme as in the former one, saving gamma — a possible intermediate source of which both Jos. and any existing “witness” earlier than Jos. are independent but which has yielded its materials to the later “witness.”

Once the logic is clear, it is to be hoped that the principles involved in this short exposition of source relations may become so habitual that it will be unnecessary for this present investigation to continue to make reference to them. Dating of “witnesses” is often chancy, but when it is not, this entire network of possible relationships will be automatically assumed as background for the treatment this investigation gives to the literary milieu of what Jos. retells of Genesis.

The general guidelines for controlling the literary milieu into which the “how” of Jos.’ retellings is to be placed are much simpler than the above. As has already been indicated, this milieu is provided during this investigation by Targumic, Pseudepigraphic and Midrashic sources. But only a relatively small number of each of these sets of sources provides that consecutive coverage of the bulk of Genesis which is found in Jos. and which is to be considered as the essential requisite in a source with which Jos.’ method of handling the whole of the Genesis narrative is to be finally contrasted and compared. The *Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan* to Genesis, the *Book of Jubilees*, and *Genesis Rabbah* are the examples in each of the three sets of our principal parameters which will best allow us to form the kind of judgment we are attempting to make. Initially it would seem that Jos.’ treatment of Genesis compares with the first two, and contrasts strongly with the third. But it is to be hoped that as our investigation progresses it will become more evident that there is a certain sophisticated manipulating of given details in Jos.’ work and that this quality tends to separate him from Targumin and Pseudepigraphic sources and bring him more into the category of a commentator who is using scripture to explain scripture.

PART I

Proto-History: Genesis 1/1 - 12/9

Introduction

In modern parlance respecting the Bible, the term "Proto-History" has come virtually to denote the first eleven chapters of the Book of Genesis. Within the Book itself, "Proto-History" is meant to stand apart from the rest which, howsoever denominated generally, begins at Gen. 12/1. Jos., however, was not favored with a copy of his principal source adorned with the chapter divisions which are now so familiar. Our author so deftly and completely incorporates the migration from Haran to Canaan (Gen. 12/1-9) into the last portion of Genesis 11 that it would be not only inappropriate but distortive to impose a much later division of the same material upon his organization. Part I therefore takes "Proto-History" as far as Jos. takes it.

As far as a *basic* comparison of our author with the MT is concerned, there is in fact no *major* omission. That is to say, there is no single "story" or genealogy which is not accounted for. Jos. will incorporate into the history of Abraham's immediate family, however, genealogical materials drawn from Genesis 22 and 24.

Unfortunately, the section of the *JA* which we have bracketed into Part I is not exactly typical of Jos.' treatment of Genesis generally. I say "unfortunately" because, beyond the *basic* similarity between Jos. and the MT, *his* "Proto-History" is distinguished by transpositions (sometimes major) in the order of the MT's narrative, citation of various authorities, confidently proposed geographical, ethnological, topographical and linguistic commentary, and downright insertions of novel material — none of which is at all typical of his treatment of the rest of Genesis (but even so could delude the casual reader into thinking that it was, coming as it does at the very beginning), but all of which could very easily camouflage the solid underpinnings of his presentation which it is our business both to compare with Genesis and to set beside the evidence derived from other sources of exegetical tradition.

Within Part I the fashion in which Jos. treats the materials of Genesis can easily be denominated a true *tour de force*. Our author will attempt another such display of versatility but in a very different form in Part IV.

CHAPTER 1: Origins

The *tour de force* which Part I considers has, in fact, a most deceptively modest initiation. The sections of Jos.' *Jewish Antiquities* (I/27-51) which we are about to examine tend to appear grossly unoriginal. This is really due to two causes: the acquaintance of the vast majority of readers with the general theme of the MT's presentation, and the manifest ability of Jos. to repeat, while not repeating, what the MT has given us. It will be part of our task to stress the difference amidst the sameness, but likewise the sameness amidst the difference.

The main change in the order of events as they appear in Genesis occurs within Jos.' version of Gen. 2/4-25, and this will be noted in the appropriate place. An overtly made transposition, performed in order to place together two passages with the same theme, only occurs once.¹ The omissions are always minor. These omissions, however, often forebode the inclusion of the seemingly omitted matter under a different form.

(a)

The MT presents what has come to be known as "The First Creation Story" in thirty-four and one half verses (Gen 1/1-2/4a).² The very familiar seven-day pattern of the account is preserved by Jos., but beyond this the changes introduced are surprisingly numerous, and examining them will surely repay pausing the seemingly disproportionate length of time it will take to do so.

Two general characteristics may be noted at once: (1) the strict narrative of past events which copies the style of the MT is periodically interrupted by remarks made from the point of view of the narrator himself; (2) the brevity of the treatment, in contrast with both Genesis and other versions thereof, is striking. The first general characteristic has already been alluded to and is mentioned here only to point up the fact that we encounter it thus early (and frequently) in the text.³ The

¹ Jos. transplants Gen. 3/20 in order to join it to the earlier context of Gen. 2/23, the common element being the appellation of the first woman.

² Within the confines of the present investigation, the use of such terminology as has resulted from, and been popularized through, modern criticism of the Pentateuch implies nothing respecting the legitimacy (much less the relevance to our purposes) of all or any of this criticism.

³ Cf. the Introduction to this investigation (pp. 4 & 22). In addition to invoking

second, though equally if not more obvious, needs some amplification if we wish to project accurately what Jos. is up to.⁴

Excised altogether, and without any reference to the fact of the original presence of anything like it in the MT, is the passage (Gen. 1/29-30) which contains the divine utterance regulating the relation of men and animals to the vegetable world. The bulk of the remaining material is couched in a group of repeating formulae, which are as well known as the seven-day pattern itself, but which, for the most part, are not repeated by Jos. Worthy of note, however, is the fact that every formula is somehow incorporated by Jos. into his version, and this at least once, though usually with a nuance differing from the MT's slightly colourless original. Further details respecting the abbreviated character of the entire passage will be dealt with as each Day is discussed in succession. One final point, however, may be noted at this juncture: for all the opportunity he had to do so throughout his rendering of this section, Jos. never once directly quotes the Divinity.

Turning now to the examination of Jos.' account of the First Day, we notice a peculiarity which will not again occur so extensively in his version of the following Days: Jos. seems to be making a special effort to follow the MT. verse for verse. This is his picture. God created heaven and earth, but earth remained invisible, deep darkness covering it and a breath from above speeding over it. God commanded that light should be, and, at its coming, He surveyed the whole of matter, then dividing light from darkness and giving names to night, day, morning and evening. Though this was the "first" Day, Moses called it "one" Day for reasons which, Jos. says, are explicable.

Jos. clearly indicates that heaven and earth were the first things created. Though scarcely original in this interpretation,⁵ he goes on to describe the other events of the First Day in such a way as to lay the foundation for an image of these first two products of the divine creative activity — an image which will finally be made clear by his mode of dealing with the Second Day. In effect, as will be seen, he seems to be thinking of the heaven and earth he has mentioned as an amalgam which,

Moses' name twice over (JA I/29 & 33), Jos. makes reference to his own projected work on "Customs and Causes" (JA I/29). The Sabbath observance of Jews is also mentioned (JA I/33) in connection with the Seventh Day, whose name Jos. pauses both to give and to etymologize.

⁴ Even the most cursory reference to the second chapter of the *Book of Jubilees* will establish the contrast. A thorough and in its own way quite readable record of the protracted results produced by a host of various sources is available in Louis GINZBERG's *The Legends of the Jews* (7 vols., Philadelphia: 1909-1938), I, 346.

⁵ The punctuation of Gen. 1/1, both in the MT and in every ancient version of the Bible, points toward the same understanding of the text. It would be pointless at this juncture to list and discuss the possible alternative interpretations unearthed by modern scholarship. Like all exegetes who read Gen. 1/1 as he evidently did, Jos. will find the "solution" to this verse not by repunctuating but by reforming the data which will follow.

in both rendering and following Gen. 1/2, he seems to be calling "earth" for the time being, but to which he will shortly refer as "matter" in dealing with Gen. 1/4. For Jos., the newly created "earth" is conceived as "not having come into sight" — a predication which somehow replaces the *tōhū wābōhū* of the MT.⁶ This same "earth" (and not the MT's *thōm*) is hidden in thick darkness, and over this "earth" (and not the MT's *pnē hammayim*) a "breath from above sped".⁷ Thus does Gen. 1/2 become a description adjusted to portray the state of "earth" alone. A tidy enough adjustment. Conspicuous by its absence, however, is all mention of water, which Jos. must try to slip in as best he can at a later point.

God is now said to have commanded the existence of light which duly appears. The whole of "matter" is then surveyed, presumably by the aid of the newly created light, though Jos.' collocation of events, rather than any specific statement, indicates this. Light is then divided from darkness — a consequence of the survey of "matter" which is not all that logical — and four things are given their names: night, day, morning and evening.⁸ Finally, broaching what was both before and after his time a point of discussion among commentators on the Days of Creation, Jos. notes the use of "one" instead of "first" in denominating the First Day, but, having noted it, deliberately avoids giving any solution to his proposed difficulty.⁹

It is indeed obvious how the changes rung on all but the first of the first five verses of Genesis 1 contrast greatly with Jos.' method of somehow rendering in turn each verse of the original. The important point to notice, however, is that certain changes (those introduced into 1/2 and 1/4, as

⁶ In the LXX, *aoratos kai akataskeuastos* is the translation. The first of these two adjectives doubtless gave Jos. the idea which he incorporates into his version.

⁷ A certain clever manipulation of words is to be noted here. Our author transmutes "darkness upon the face of the deep" (*skotos epanō tēs abyssou*) into "deep darkness" (*bathys skotos*). The alteration of the *rūah 'ēlōhīm* to a "breath from above (*anōthen*)" cannot help but call to mind the similar effort employed by the Targumim to interpret this "breath" as something a bit apart and distinct from God Himself.

⁸ Jos. makes special mention of the naming of morning and evening. This treatment of the two corresponding natural phenomena is somewhat redolent of the *Book of Jubilees* (2/2) where they are made into separate creations. Their inclusion by Jos. at this juncture allows him to account for the formulaic "and it was evening and it was morning..." which he never otherwise alludes to. PHILO (*De Opif. Mun.*, 35) also refers to morning and evening as though they were separately existing entities which God fixed as barriers in the intervals between light and darkness.

⁹ PHILO (*De Opif. Mun.*, 26-35) interprets the First Day as the occasion of the production of the intelligible (i.e., non-sensible) universe. This passage concludes (35) with a specific reference to the use of "one" instead of "first", relating the cardinal numeral to the uniqueness of the intelligible world which has a natural kinship to the number "one". Haggadic tradition (*Genesis Rabbah*, 3/9; *Numbers Rabbah*, 13/6; *Pesikta Rabbati*, 7/4) also makes a point of the ordinal over the cardinal as used in this context of Genesis, but finds reference here rather to the "aloneness" of the Creator at this juncture and to His desire to achieve eventual "oneness" with his as yet to be created creatures. For further evidence of the attention paid to this matter in both Christian and Talmudic tradition, cf. S. RAPPAPORT, *Agada und Exegese bei Flavius Josephus* (Frankfurt a. M.: 1930), footnote 2, p. 72.

already noted) chime with the quite noticeable changes made in the account of the Second Day and, together with these latter, constitute an interpretation of Gen. 1/1 itself.

Having carefully followed (if not always identically re-expressed) the MT for the First Day, Jos. now begins to race through the remainder of the Week of Creation in a fashion which demands some attention. When God was pleased to separate the heaven from "the rest," He placed it above the universe and encrusted it with ice, so that it would be moist and rainy and would give congenial dews to the earth. This is the sum of all that Jos. has happen on the Second Day. The firmament which, in the MT, is created and later named "heaven" is not mentioned. It is furthermore unclear whether anything is created at this juncture at all, for the ice is rather casually introduced and we are perhaps being led to suppose that it also was taken from "the rest" from which heaven was separated. However, the events of the Second Day make it clearer than ever that the heaven and earth of the First Day were conceived as an amalgam from which heaven was subsequently separated. Jos., up to this point, has avoided all mention of primeval waters, and so he accounts for the "waters which were above the firmament" in the above-mentioned fashion, leaving out of consideration altogether the "waters which were below the firmament" — a predicament which will have to be resolved somehow on or by the Third Day.

Jos.' Second Day is curious. Granted the interpretation of Gen. 1/1 that he has adopted, the assumption of an amalgam saves having to explain the creation of two heavens. Such an assumption is, moreover, hardly unique in interpretative tradition. In precise response to the controversy over whether heaven or earth were created first, Simeon b. Yohai was credited with likening the creation of heaven and earth to the production of a pot with its cover — an analogy at least suggesting the idea which Jos. obviously had in mind. And, as regards the work of the Second Day, even though the actual removal of the pot's cover forms no part of the traditional analogy, its essential removability is nonetheless apparent.¹⁰

Another tradition to be considered in connection with the formation of the heavens is that given in *Genesis Rabbah* 4/2. Described here is the congealing of the primeval waters at their midpoint, whereby a solid layer is formed to separate what is below from what is above. This is suggestive of Jos.' presentation in two ways: (1) the formation of the heavens from pre-existing stuff (in this case, the waters) is clear; (2) the watery qualities, which Jos. attributes to the constitution of the heavens, are present. This tradition is in fact part of a whole group of traditions which tend to bring to the fore the substantial and/or accidental *composi-*

¹⁰ Rabbi Simeon who flourished in the middle of the second century A.D. is quoted on this matter in the Jerusalem Talmud (*Hagigah*, 2/1).

tion of the heavens, and, in some cases, to make such composition the cause of whatever function the heavens may have.¹¹ Banal by contrast is the MT's picture of a mere barrier holding back (and, on occasion, allowing to pass through its apertures) "the waters which were above."

All this being said, it is nevertheless to a brief and careful consideration of the MT which we must return in order to come to grips with Jos.' exegesis of the Second Day. It is easy to lose sight of the fact that the MT account is not all that clear. Beginning with a mass of undifferentiated primeval waters, it presents the simultaneous creation and placing of a partition, the result of which is the existence of two separated bodies of water. This is all that is really described, but the fact that the partition is then named "heaven" allows for the direct inference that the partition is meant to appear as subtending a space beneath it. But two other inferences occur as well: the spatial separation of the partition from the "waters which were below" places these waters in the location one tends to think occupied by the earth's surface; the "waters which were above" become the obvious source of watery precipitation from the sky. Thus does the mere naming of the firmament in the MT not only add dimensions to a previously simple picture, but likewise brings the elements of the now expanded picture into a kind of harmonious unit. Taking account of all this, we are now prepared to return for a final look at Jos.' Second Day.

Buried under Jos.' seemingly quite differing version of the Second Day lie, I believe, two things: a far closer following of the MT than would at first seen possible, and a rather subtly introduced substantial change. Missing obviously are the initially undifferentiated waters and the creation of the firmament. But how, in fact, are the accounts similar? In both, an undifferentiated quantity is carried over from the First Day and is manipulated into division; in both, the space-enclosing heavens make their appearance; in both, the watery precipitation from the sky is taken into consideration. In this last item Jos. also manages to bring in somewhat slyly and parenthetically the very two things which were admitted to be obviously lacking in his treatment: water and the creation of the firmament; for it is a watery substance which is added as a presumably permanent (accidental) quality of the already (substantially) constituted heavens in order to produce the precipitation indicated. The element which is novel in Jos. is the fact that the earth is left to take the place of the "waters which were beneath" — the earth which remained after heaven

¹¹ *Genesis Rabbah* (4/7) is a little record of opinions which associate the heavens and their constitution with water. I should venture to suggest, however, that Jos.' description of the Second Day has not so much to do with received tradition as with a reading (either Jos.' or that of someone whom he was following) of Job 38. There, the LXX language and phrasing of certain ideas is very similar to that employed by Jos.

was given its own place and which the heaven's watery qualities were designed, according to Jos., to benefit. Thus, while somewhat secretly following his original, Jos. has secretly introduced a change, the presence of which his narrative of the events of the Third Day seems to bear out altogether.

On both the Third and Sixth Days of the MT a somewhat formal division is made between two distinct creative activities both of which, however, are made to occur on the same Day. Jos., by omitting, as he has done since the First Day, any mention of a creative *fiat*, on both Days softens any division between the two subsequent actions, but he goes even further on both occasions by reducing the second work to a kind of parenthesis — surprising enough when we consider that the second work on the Sixth Days is the creation of man. But let us examine first of all what he does with the first portion of the MT's Third Day. In stark contrast to the MT, where the waters are gathered together into one place so that the dry land will appear, Jos. says that God "set up" the earth, pouring the sea around it.

The picture we are given, therefore, includes nothing of a separation of a previously existing admixture of earth and water. Earth is merely manipulated into the sort of raised position so that there is something to pour the sea *around*, and the sea is as casually introduced into the arrangement as was the ice of the Second Day. What would appear then to be carried over from the Second Day is just the earth itself, and such an assumption supports the conclusion already arrived at, namely, that the dry earth alone was what lay beneath the moist vault of the heavens at the end of the Second Day.

The word "sea" is used in the singular by Jos., and it has been suggested that Jos. is hereby indicating the Ocean which encircles the earth.¹² The existence of such a geographical phenomenon seems to have been a commonplace in exegetical tradition as well as in the works of professional geographers.¹³ The singular "sea" as well as the rather precise-

¹² This is actually the suggestion of S. RAPPAPORT (*op. cit.*, p. 1). Rappaport would thus quite rightly distinguish the later, more scientific picture (i.e., earth surrounded by an outer sea) from the early, more poetic concept (i.e., earth surrounded by an outer river). Rabbinic tradition (cf. following footnote) and Jos., in the present context, are, *according* to Rappaport, one with the later, more scientific picture. In another context (cf. pp. 51-52 of this investigation), Jos. will seem to revert back to the early, more poetic concept when describing the so-called "Rivers of Paradise". To what extent exegetical tradition may have continued to honour the cruder and earlier geographical picture will be examined when we come to take up the question of these Rivers.

¹³ In the *Targum Kohelet* (at Kohelet 1/7) we read: "All the rivers and streams of water go and flow into the waters of the ocean which surround the world like a ring, and the ocean is not full and to the place where the streams go and flow there they go again through the channels of the sea". *Derek Erez Zuta* (9/13) has: "This world is likened to a person's eyeball; the white of the eye corresponds to the ocean which surrounds the whole world; the iris to the inhabited world; etc.". The *Book*

sounding "around" may in effect be merely Jos.' method of interpreting the "one place" into which the waters were gathered by the MT. Ocean must needs be discussed again in connection with Jos.' description of the garden into which the first man and woman were placed, and it would be best to put off further observations on this matter until the later context is reached. All that really needs to be said here is that if Ocean is indeed being suggested, its presence within the cosmogony indicates that Jos. did consider it a basic and principal element in the overall constitution of the visible world.

Plants and seeds now spring immediately from the soil, according to Jos., and there is no mention of any divine utterance or gesture causing them to do this. It can scarcely be argued that Jos. is broadcasting an implicit polemic against creation by oral *fiat*, having already on the First Day given full force to the divine command that light should be. By omitting mention of the divine causality in this context he may simply be allowing his general stylistic policy of omitting mention of any divine *fiat* after the First Day to take full advantage of, and slightly override, the MT's notion of the earth's exercise of its own peculiar potential in producing plant-life once commanded to do so — an exercise, moreover, which, uniquely within the seven-day scheme of creation, is *not* followed by the formulaic "And God made ..."

In this whole context, however, the force of "immediately" is curious, for, according to the construction of the sentence, it does not indicate that these things sprang up immediately after the earth was set up and the sea poured around it, but that they sprang up without going through the slow process of growth ordinarily accompanying the development of vegetable life into its maturity. Full grown plants with their seeds came

of Adam and Eve (i.e., *The Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan*) runs along the same line: "On the third day, God planted the garden in the east of the earth, on the border of the world eastward, beyond which, towards the sun rising, one finds nothing but water that encompasses the whole world and reaches unto the borders of heaven." For this reference, cf. S. C. MALAN (tr.), *The Book of Adam and Eve* (London-Edinburgh: 1882), p. 1. These, along with some few other citations, are used by S. RAPPAPORT to demonstrate that rabbinical tradition and Jos., in the present context, are at one with more enlightened geographical theory which viewed the earth as surrounded by a great sea, not by a single river (cf. preceding footnote and S. RAPPAPORT, *op. cit.*, footnote 5, p. 73). We must however return at a later point to an examination of the citation from *Pirke deRabbi Eliezer* which Rappaport somewhat strangely subjoins to the above-mentioned list, of supporting authorities. As to those among the Greeks who were professionally concerned with the truth or fallacy of geographical facts, Herodotus had already obtained sufficient knowledge to reject with ridicule the idea of the river Ocean flowing around the earth, and it deserves notice that with the notion he rejects the name likewise, calling the great bodies of water (which we call "oceans") "seas". Most, though not all, classical geographers came to accept the fact that the earth was surrounded by a body of water which was not a river and language came to adapt to the new framework both the older poetic concept as well as the newer notion of a variety of "seas" indenting the continental mainland from without.

into being. One might say that this, after all, is what a truly literal reading of the MT would indicate, but the ordinary tendency of the casual reader is to suppose rather that at this juncture the earth *began* the process of producing the sort of thing it was commanded to, and, in the course of time, did produce. Philo underscored the interpretation Jos. has adopted, but the same appears in *Midrash Hagadol B'reshith* as well.¹⁴

On the Fourth Day, says Jos., God adorned the heaven with the sun, moon and other stars. Here too we have certain echoes of Philo both in the concept of (as well as the very word for) adornment, and in the use of the less common *astron* in denominating the collectivity of the third product of this Day.¹⁵ The concept of adornment has the happy ability to side-step gracefully but not too artificially the whole problem of the conflict between the light of the First Day and the production of its sources on the Fourth. Whether this problem was in fact in Jos.' mind or not, he avoids it by stringent editing of the purposes which the MT gives for the creation of these luminaries. Jos. says merely that the courses and motions of the heavenly bodies were prescribed by God to indicate the revolutions of the seasons, thus omitting their functions as "signs" and indicators of "days and years" and keeping discreet silence about their being "lights in the firmament of the heavens to give light upon the earth" — a function which is mentioned twice in the MT. Jos.' rendition of the Week of Creation often, as we have seen, makes use of the casual word or phrase to great effect in pointing up the significance he is giving his text, and the presence of the qualifying "other" with reference to the stars baits the imagination. Even though in the astronomical system (with which Jos. may or may not have been familiar) the sun and moon were but two of a set of heavenly bodies, it would seem nonetheless that the application of that system in the present context would leave out of account another principal element of that same system — the fixed stars. Disappointingly enough, perhaps, "other" would seem to mean nothing else than the otherwise quite acceptable and well-documented "besides."

¹⁴ PHILO (*De Opif. Mun.*, 4041) has: "Beside these (other plants) he caused all kinds of trees to grow, leaving out no tree at all, whether of wild growth or what we call garden trees. And after a fashion quite contrary to the present order of Nature all were laden with fruit as soon as ever they came in existence. For now the processes take place in turn, one at one time, one at another, not all of them simultaneously at one season." There follows in Philo (the rest of 41) a detailed description of exactly what he means by the lengthy processes involved in the normal growth of living things and another declaration (42) of how this contrasts with the work accomplished on the Third Day. *Midrash Hagadol B'reshith* is quoted (presumably *ad loc.*) to the same effect by M. M. KASHER in his *Torah Shelema* (New York: 1934-1949), Genesis I, #581.

¹⁵ PHILO (*De Opif. Mun.*, 45) has: *Tē; de tetartē; hēmerā; meta tēn gēn ton ouranon epoikille diakosmōn*. This parallels Jos.' statement: *Tē; tetartē; de diakosmei ton ouranon . . .* (JA I/31). There is perhaps not much to choose between *astēr* and *astron* but it may be noted in passing that Jos. (JA I/31) in using the phrase ". . . with sun and moon and the other stars (*astrois*)" is using *astron* in a general sense which we find duplicated in PHILO (*De Opif. Mun.*, 53).

We encounter a neatness, accuracy and elegance in his brief turning of the MT's Fifth Day which is unique in Jos.' version of the Week of Creation. Let loose in the deep and in the air are the creatures which swim or fly. These are linked as partners to generate, increase and multiply their kind. In its own way, this is a splendid little summary of much of Jos.' method in dealing with the separate portions of the Week of Creation. Eschewing as he consistently does after the First Day any reference to a creative *fiat*, the *language* of the MT's *fiat* which avoids making the product too direct a result of the mere utterance ("Let the waters swarm with swarming things..."; "...let birds fly above the earth."), is here clearly mirrored. Jos. says that these species were joined in partnership — his version of the blessing given in Gen. 1/22 — in order to increase their kind — a real echo of the recurring "according to its (their) kind(s)" formula so familiar from even a cursory reading of Genesis' first chapter. Willingness to follow the elements of his original is strikingly obvious. Could it also be, however, that Jos. found in the MT's language of this particular "*fiat*" the warrant to employ a certain vagueness, or, rather, indirectness in describing other creative acts (e.g., ice or water) where manipulation is really meant to denote creation?

Jos. pares the Sixth Day to the bone. Thereon, quadrupeds were created, male and female, and also man. The MT, of course, has a longer list of animals which made their appearance at this juncture, and although "cattle" and "beasts of the earth" may well be bracketed beneath Jos.' generalization, the MT's "creeping things" would scarcely fit. The potential of the earth to produce these quadrupeds under the stimulus of the divine command is not adverted to, but here again, as on the Third Day, the gap is closed between the MT's highly emphasized two-stage structure of the Day's events.

The chief peculiarities of this version of the Sixth Day all stem, seemingly, from the same source. The male and female animals (not mentioned in the MT), the sexually undifferentiated and so briefly treated man, and the lack of the presence of creeping things among the earth's newly created inhabitants — all, it seems to me, prepare for the version of the Genesis story as Jos. is on the point of continuing it in retelling the bulk of Genesis 2 & 3. Foreshadowed here are snakes with feet and a man lonely in the presence of animals who have their mates, for such is the picture that Jos. is on the point of painting us.

But what did God do on the Seventh Day? The MT has it that "thus the heavens and the earth were finished, and all the host of them, and on the seventh day God finished His work . . . and He rested on the seventh day from all His work which He had done." Jos. here invokes Moses' authority in telling us that "the world (*kosmos*) and everything in it were made in six days in all, and on the seventh God rested and had respite from His labours." The substitution of *kosmos* for the MT's "heaven and

earth" may or may not be of some significance, but Jos.' excising of the MT's slightly embarrassing hint that God did *some* work on the Seventh Day is a frequently found alteration bespeaking and underscoring the well-nigh universal interpretation of Gen. 2/2.¹⁶

Because He rested on the Seventh Day, says the MT, God blessed and hallowed it; because God rested thereon, says Jos., "we" pass this day in repose and call it "sabbath" which, in Hebrew, means "rest." The reduction of Sabbath observance to the voluntary and gratuitous-seeming imitation of the conduct of God on the Seventh Day, without any reference at all either to the consecration of this Day by God or to the positively festive elements which both religious and exegetical tradition have ever drawn from its consecrated character, sets Jos. apart among interpreters of this passage.¹⁷

(b)

The small section constituted by Gen. 2/4-6 is omitted by Jos. and replaced by a remark which functions as a bridge between the foregoing and what is about to come. "And here, after the seventh day," he says, "Moses besing to interpret nature (*physiologeîn*), writing on the formation of man in these terms." Without saying so directly, Jos. is taking us back to the Sixth Day (to which he has given such short shrift). For anyone wanting to harmonize the two creation accounts, some little violence must be done to the MT. The method Jos. has chosen to bring the two together, however, involves surprisingly few substantial omissions or additions.

Between Gen. 2/7 and 2/25, the MT's sequence of major themes is as follows: (1) creation of the first male; (2) the garden (2/8-15); (3) the divine warning respecting the tree; (4) the creation of the first female (2/18-25). Jos. alters his order of events by placing the creation of the woman immediately after the creation of the man. Other small alterations in the order will be noted in examining each of the four above-mentioned sections in turn. The major alteration of sequence, however, has the obvious stylistic advantage of bringing together the separate creations of the first pair of humans, thereby leaving the warning respecting the tree to stand immediately before the events of Genesis 3. Jos.' sequence, therefore, resembles that employed in the *Book of Jubilees*.¹⁸

¹⁶ The LXX at this point simply alters the text, reading: "And on the *sixth* day God finished these His works which He had made..." *Targum Pseud. Jon.* seems to follow the general idea of completion of work by the seventh day. *Genesis Rabbah* (10/9) records the various scruples with regard to this passage, even to including mention of the fact that the LXX possesses a different reading. Cf. also *Pesikta Rabbati* (Ch. 46).

¹⁷ Jos. makes the Sabbath religious by imitation or, in more legal terms, by precedent set by some higher authority. The same stance is taken in the case of circumcision (*JA* I/214) and of abstaining from "the broad sinew" (*JA* I/334).

¹⁸ The order of events in the *Book of Jubilees* (3/1-16) omits describing the creation of Adam (Gen. 2/7) and the beasts (Gen. 2/19) but commences with the parade of the

The principal change made by Jos. in the MT's version of the making of the first male is his statement that, after He had fashioned him from the earth's dust, God instilled (*enēken*) spirit (*pneuma*) and soul (*psychē*) into him. The LXX's *pnoē* which translates the MT's *nšāmā* is thus replaced by *pneuma* (which ordinarily stands for the MT's *rūah*), and *psychē* is not made the result of the instillation of the first element, but is in fact one of the elements themselves which form man's total composition. Jos. seems to assume that what he says is sufficient to indicate that a living thing is the product of the process he has so briefly described, for he omits all mention of "life" or "living" in his version. In fact, no specific effect is attributed to either spirit or soul by their presence in the composite. The attention which automatically focuses upon the tri-partite conception of man Jos. is presenting easily distracts the reader from the otherwise rather spare, distant and impersonal character of the passage.

In contexts other than the present one, the MT gives warrant for the supposition of a tri-partite composition of the human being, and there is a passage in the *Wisdom of Solomon* which not only indicates the presence of two "spiritual" elements in man, but uses the same two words employed by Jos.¹⁹ Haggadic tradition is no stranger to the idea of two non-corporeal sides to man's nature so that, all things considered, the exegesis performed by Jos. on Gen. 2/7, far from being original (which it obviously is not), was perhaps already by his time a standard way of both explaining and avoiding the somewhat vague phraseology of the MT.²⁰

Jos. now says that the first human was called Adam, presumably by God, though Jos. fails to say who bestowed the name. But our author wants to say why this name was given, and his reason is this: *Adam* signifies (*sēmainei*) "red" in Hebrew, and that was the colour of the "true virgin soil" which was kneaded together to form him.

animals and Adam's naming of them. The creation of the first woman follows this and thereafter the man and the woman are introduced into the garden. The *Book of Jubilees*, however, will have the two humans brought into the garden separately, the man first and the woman forty days later.

¹⁹ In the MT's rendition of Job 34/14, there is a hint of three elements within the living thing (*rūah*, *nšāmā*, *bāsār*) but this is not reproduced in the LXX. Similarly, in Isaiah 42/5 there is mention of two spiritual elements (*nšāmā*, *rūah*) infused by God into the peoples of the earth. The text from the *Wisdom of Solomon* (15/11), which is the one which contains the combination used by Jos., reads: *hoti ēgnoēse ton plasanta auton kai ton empeusanta autō; psychēn energousan kai emphysēsanta pneuma zōtikon*.

²⁰ Exegetical tradition is rich with examples of the assumption of two spiritual principles within man, and an instance of such a tradition is recorded by both *Leviticus Rabbah* (32/2) and *Kohelet Rabbah* (10/20), the following being the latter's version: "And that which hath wings shall tell the matter." R. Bun said: 'When a man sleeps, the body tells (what has been done) to the spirit, the spirit to the soul, the soul to the angel, the angel to a cherub, and the cherub to THAT WHICH HATH WINGS. Who is that? The seraph, and the seraph carries and relates it before Him at whose word the universe came into being.' Cf. S. RAPPAPORT, *op. cit.*, footnote 6, pp. 73-74.

"Adam" in the MT is not clearly and indisputably used as a proper name until a much later context (Gen. 4/25), its use as a common noun occurring far more frequently. Assuming, as I think one can, that Jos. knew that *ʾādām* was a common noun as well as a proper one, it is odd that Jos. does not make the point that the general word for "man" in Hebrew is the same as the proper name given Adam and, granting that Adam was given his name for the above-mentioned reasons, must therefore derive from the name especially given the male protoplast. In any case, Adam is said in the MT to have been given as a name by God, not to the first male, but to the first pair (Gen. 5/2). Jos. transfers this piece of information into the context of Gen. 2/7, simplifying things by dropping any reference to the fact that Adam's personal name happens also to be the common designation for the race of his descendants.

To grasp the possibility of some connection between *ʾādām* and *ʾādōm* is not especially difficult, particularly if one were seriously casting about for a feasible etymology to a proper name. Jos. has been said by S. Rappaport to have been quite original, however, in making this connection and thereby starting a trend among commentators on the Bible.²¹ It is the connecting link forged by Jos. between the male protoplast and redness which is the interesting portion of this passage. This link, of course, is the "true virgin soil."

That the first human should have been formed from something quite special is a theme whose frequency is equaled only by the variety of its expression.²² But exactly why this special "*Urstoff*" should be "true virgin soil" and, in turn, why such soil should be red, are questions the answers to which leave something to be desired. The evidence points in no clear direction, but I should submit the following as a possible explanation. It has been noted that Jos. both dropped and replaced what is contained in Gen. 2/4-6. From the care he has sometimes exhibited in following, or at least in some way accounting for, the content of Genesis, it might be wondered *a priori* whether he has in fact overlooked the verses he seems to have by-passed. In the three above-mentioned verses there is in fact described what amounts to a "virgin soil." Its presence at that juncture, of course, does not fit into a logical harmonization of Gen. 2/4b ff. with what has gone before, for the earth was despoiled of its virginity on the Third Day of the Week of Creation when, even according to Jos., "plants and seeds" sprang up. The precise phrasing of Gen. 2/5 might well offer

²¹ Cf. S. RAPPAPORT, *op. cit.*, p. 2 & footnote 8, pp. 75-76.

²² That Adam was formed from the finest clay available is the testimony of PHILO (*De Opif. Mun.*, 137), and *Pirke deRabbi Eliezer* (Ch. 12) will have it that: "With love abounding did the Holy One, blessed be He, love the first man, inasmuch as He created him in a pure locality, in the place of the Temple, etc.". The latter source (in Ch. 11) also contains the famous passage about the collecting of the various colours of dust from the four corners of the world when God was on the point of creating Adam.

the possibility of harmonizing even this state of affairs with what has gone before, but this would stretch the capacity of any exegete and it is unfair, not to say unwarranted, to suppose that Jos. had in the back of his mind a picture which neatly brought together the apparently contradictory. In any case, it was the earth as we find it in Gen. 2/4-6 that constituted the matter out of which Adam was made — an earth which had brought forth nothing, an earth which was damp (and therefore capable of being “kneaded,” as Jos. has represented it), an earth which, in the MT, was called *ʾādāmā*.

All this *could* explain most of the points in need of explanation. Jos. has seen, or knows of, the resemblance between *ʾādām* and *ʾādāmā* — the earth which is “virgin” by having produced nothing, according to the testimony of Gen. 2/4-6, whose root consonants suggest “red,” and which, again according to the picture suggested in Gen. 2/4-6, is malleable. But why “true virgin soil”?

The structure of Jos.’ sentence makes something of a point of “true” (*alēthinē*) and it would be hazardous to pass off the adjective as expressing a kind of implicit attribute of “virgin,” thus making it into a sort of more specific appositive. *Alēthinē* can in fact mean “archetypal” and if it were given this meaning in the present context would, or at least could, be the means whereby Jos. signals the fact that he is narrating within a harmonized framework an idea drawn from the unharmonizable data.²³ According to the sequence of the MT, “virgin soil” was ready at hand when the Creator was prone (Gen. 2/7) to undertake man’s formation, but according to the harmonized sequence adopted by Jos., such material would not be so available. The earth has already brought forth, so that “virgin” earth cannot be the earth that one can presume to be present according to the sequence of events given by Jos., but must also be “original” earth — that is to say, the sort *not* to be found at the time of Adam’s creation according to Jos.’ scheme. Because he has harmonized his version, Jos. must make the Creator reach back beyond the point which the development of things has reached in order to find what was ready to hand for Him in the MT.

As has already been noted, the creation of the first female follows directly upon the creation of the first human, according to Jos.’ ordering of the MT material. The prelude to this in Jos., as in the MT, is the parade of the animals, but there is some difference in the two accounts. In Jos. the parade serves the dual purpose of exhibiting the male and female of all the species to Adam, and of allowing God, not Adam, to give them the names by which they are afterwards called. The ultimate motive behind

²³ That the Greek adjective *alēthinōs* can have the meaning of “archetypal” is attested by some of the best established classical authors (e.g., XENEPHON, *Memorabilia*, 3/10/7; PLATO, *Leges*, 643c). It is likely that the word also has this meaning in PHILO’S *De Praemiis et Poenis*, 104.

the whole process seems to be the naming of the animals — a lesson for Adam. The lesson, however, had a seemingly unanticipated by-product. Adam, without the female partner which did not exist, stood looking in astonishment at the other creatures who had their mates. Seeing this, God proceeds to remedy the situation.

The MT begins with the motive on the part of the Creator to give the man some sort of companion. This leads to the animals' creation and thence to the parade whose purpose is in effect to find out whether the man will recognize (in and by the naming process) the suitable companion. *This* failing, God proceeds to remedy the situation.

To harmonize the whole account of creation, Jos. must omit the creation of the animals at this juncture. This would not of itself exclude the possibility of using the parade, as does the MT, in order that some companion might be discovered for the lonely protoplast, provided one begins with the MT's presupposition: that the objective aloneness of the man was a state noted and judged less good by the Creator. But, to all appearances, Jos. wishes to divorce even the parade from the benevolent intention of the Creator to find a companion for the man, and thus settles on presenting us with another motive for the exhibition: the giving of names. Nor does he seem at all inclined to allow Adam to give names to the fauna, even in face of the MT's virtually emphatic determination to allow the contrary. Thus, the omission of the creation of the animals, plus the operation of what seem to be two rather settled prejudices, give the basic shape to Jos.' version of this passage.

The subjective desire on the part of Adam for a mate is a piece of Haggadic elaboration which could have grown up alongside the MT just as it stands. From the objective aloneness which was noted by God, a progress toward and into a subjective state of loneliness experienced in the presence of the pairs of animals need logically exclude none of the steps included in the MT's picture. Jos. is by no means alone in incorporating into his version the image of such a subjective state,²⁴ but the obtrusiveness of the image is due not so much to its *seeming* novelty as to the fact that it replaces, as the *cause* for the divine concern over Adam's loneliness, the MT's delineation of events.

In both Jos. and his original, the narrative now follows virtually the same course. While he sleeps, a rib is extracted from Adam by God, formed into a woman, and then brought to Adam. Jos. appends three things, all paralleled in one way or another by the MT: (1) Adam recognized that she was made from himself; (2) in Hebrew, woman is called *essa*; (3) the

²⁴ "And on these five days Adam saw all these, male and female, according to every kind that was on the earth, but he was alone and found no helpmeet for him." Thus does the *Book of Jubilees* (3/3) view the present context. That the parade took place in male-female pairs, and that Adam found himself a loner as a result, is also the clear image projected in *Genesis Rabbah* (17/4).

actual name of the first woman was Eve, which means "mother of all (living)." The short poem recited by the man when confronted with the woman (Gen. 2/23) is the basis for (1) and (2), though, once again, it is curious that Jos. does not make use of the material available for his increasingly manifest tendency to etymologize. The little piece included in (3) is taken from another context (Gen. 3/20), and Jos. does not give a very clear indication that he knows what he's talking about when dealing with it.²⁵ In the case of neither etymology does Jos. mention the fact that it was Adam who bestowed the name in question.

Gen. 2/24-25 conclude the section on the creation of woman. Jos. takes overt account of neither of these verses. The "two in one flesh" theme may have seemed as unnecessary and/or embarrassing as the concluding reference to unashamed nudity. We shall have the opportunity of seeing in a later context why at least the nudity theme was expunged.

The garden must now be dealt with. The original order of this section is: (1) the planting of the garden (Gen. 2/8a); (2) the placement of the man therein (2/8b); (3) the plants of the garden, and the two trees (2/9); (4) the rivers (2/10-14); (5) the placement of the man into the garden as its caretaker (2/15). Since (2) and (5) are close to being duplicates, Jos. omits (2). The position of (4) and (5) are reversed so that the rivers, in which Jos. takes great interest, are mentioned last. Finally, because, according to Jos.' new order of events, the creation of Eve has been described already, it is the *pair* who are brought into the garden in order to tend the plants.

Jos. says that God planted the park eastward, but he neither here nor hereafter once mentions "Eden." He goes along with the MT in indicating the abundance of the garden's contents, but stresses the variety thereof rather than the beauty and utility. Jos. duly mentions the two trees, but not their location, and, when giving them their names takes a little trouble to make clear what the name of the second tree is meant to signify. The duties assigned to the garden's caretakers imply a rather general management rather than physical work or protection.

It is, however, the rivers and their names which elicit most care from our author at this point. Jos. agrees with the MT that the garden is watered by a single river which, in the MT, flows out of Eden, but in Jos. encircles all the earth (no source being indicated). Where does Jos. acquire this idea of an encircling river? Is it to be categorically identified with Ocean? The clue for the source of the idea seems to me to be in the very absence of *all* mention of Eden. It is not impossible to read the Hebrew

²⁵ Jos., after telling us that the name of this first woman was "Eua", continues by telling us what it means: *sēmainei de touto pantōn (tōn zōntōn) mētera*. The words in parenthesis do not appear in the two best mss., R and O, which probably indicates that Jos. wrote that "Eua" means "mother of all". This comes very close to saying what the Hebrew does in fact say except that the important and operative word ("living") is omitted.

of Gen. 2/10 (*mēʿēden*) not as “out of Eden” but as the *hiphʿil* participle of the verbal root ʿDN, hence arriving at the meaning of “binding” or “surrounding.”²⁶ He is perhaps in part adjusting his entire version to this interpretation of the word in Gen. 2/10 by simply omitting all mention of it elsewhere. Against S. Rappaport, I should think it must also be maintained that this one encircling stream is in fact meant by Jos. to be Ocean which, in classical geography was a river (not just a “sea”). The fact that some authorities made this encircling river Ocean flow from east to west might have also suggested the river’s identification in connection with the garden which God planted “eastward.” Whether or not the “sea” of the Third Day of the Week of Creation is meant by Jos. to be the same as this river is difficult to say. S. Rappaport will maintain that Jos. “unterscheidet ausdruecklich zwischen dem die Erde umgebenden Okeanos und dem die Erde umfliessenden Fluss.”²⁷ But this is to identify too categorically Ocean with *thalassa* to begin with — the very point which is at issue.

Jos. and his original both make the one river divide into four, the Pishon, Gihon, Tigris and Euphrates order of the MT being altered by Jos. to “Pheisōn,” Euphrates, Tigris and “Gēōn.” That the partition took place precisely at or in the garden is mentioned by the MT only, and it is difficult to draw any kind of a truly unified topographic picture from the pieces in Jos.

“Pheisōn,” says Jos., means “multitude.”²⁸ It runs toward India, falls into the sea (*pelagos*), and is called “Ganges” by the Greeks. Thus the “Havilah” of the original is interpreted as “India,” which interpretation

²⁶ That the root ʿDN can bear this meaning in the *hiphʿil* seems to be clear from its use in *Genesis Rabbah* (10/6).

²⁷ Cf. S. RAPPAPORT, *op. cit.*, p. 2 & footnote 10, p. 76. This matter has already been broached in this investigation with reference to the Third Day of creation (pp. 42-43). There is little doubt in my own mind that Jos. is attempting to have things *both* ways, stating in his account of creation that the earth is surrounded by the sea but also indicating, in the present context, that there existed, or exists, a *river* performing much the same function as the old Oceanus of the poets. S. RAPPAPORT is, however, going a bit far by stating: “Einen die ganze Erde umfliessenden Strom kennt weder die Bibel noch die Agada.” Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 2. In *Pirke deRabbi Eliezer* (Ch. 10), which is also cited by RAPPAPORT (*op. cit.*, footnote 5, p. 73), Jonah is having a conversation with the fish which “showed him the great river of the waters of the Ocean...”

²⁸ Jos.’s spelling of the name of this river follows the LXX (which also has *Phisōn*). The meaning (*plēthys*) which Jos. gives the name seems to bear out the opinion that the Hebrew word (*pišōn*) is being interpreted by virtue of the Aramaic verb *PWS/PSY* (grow larger; increase). The Greek verb (*plēthyō*) to which Jos.’ etymology is related translated the Aramaic verb well enough but the Hebrew verbal root *PWS* does not seem to enter the picture at all. S. RAPPAPORT (*op. cit.*, p. 2 & footnote 11, pp. 76-77) has tried to bring Jos.’ treatment of this name into some sort of relation with *Genesis Rabbah* (16/2 & 4). This does not seem an altogether likely possibility. There is perhaps a hint of the tradition which our author is using in the text of *Ben Sira* (24/25) where God is said to fill all things with his wisdom, “as Pheison”.

logically dictates the choice of "Ganges" over "Nile."²⁹ Doubtless too the data given us by the MT respecting Havilah has helped the author, or the originators of the tradition he is following, in identifying the locale, even though Jos. mentions nothing about the fine quality gold, the bdellium and the onyx stones. The notion that this river flows "around the whole land" of Havilah may in fact be retained by Jos. in his phrase "*epi tēn Indikēn*" — but most authors have understood the prepositions as meaning "towards" rather than "over" or "by," even though the two latter are by no means impossible. The emptying of the river into the *pelagos* is neither factually nor stylistically based on the MT, but is rather an expansion of the MT's indication of the general locale of the river and a precision deriving from the identification of the river as the Ganges.

It is perhaps worth noting too that here for the first time the Greeks enter into Jos.' purview. Mention of them will, however, be frequent, and will be made ordinarily in contexts wherein attempt is being made to establish or show off the author's ability to hold his own with or against them. But this will come out more clearly in the course of what will follow.

We are now told that both the Euphrates and the Tigris end in the Erythraean Sea (*Erythra thalassa*), and that the Euphrates is called *Phoras* which means "dispersion" or "flower."³⁰ The indication of the destination of the courses of the two rivers adds something to the MT's account of the Euphrates which is nothing more than the mention of the name itself. Thackeray is correct in noting that Erythraean Sea has here the wider meaning of "Indian Ocean" which would also include the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea more narrowly so called.³¹ *Phoras* is, of course, Jos.' rendering into Greek of the Hebrew *prāt*.

The MT describes the Tigris as flowing east of Assyria, but Jos. says nothing about its location beyond what was mentioned in conjunction with the Euphrates in regard to the ultimate destination of its course. Jos., however, now does a curious thing in dealing with the etymology of "Tigris." Instead of giving some Greek rendition of the Hebrew (*hiddeqel*) and proceeding thence, he gives us a Greek surrogate (*Diglath*) for the Aramaic *diglat* and an etymology which matches, not the Aramaic

²⁹ The *Targum Pseud. Jon.* may be said to have the same view as to the location of this river, to the extent that the proper name *hindigē* can be proven to mean India. Certain sources side with Jos. clearly in identifying Pishon as the Ganges, while, on the other hand, there are others which insist that it be the Nile. Cf. S. RAPPAPORT, *op. cit.*, footnote 12, pp. 77-78.

³⁰ Dispersion (*skedasmos*) could be traced to the Hebrew roots *PRD*, *PRS*, or *PRŠ*; flower (*anthos*) to *PRH* or *PRH*. Traces of the first signification (*PRS*) can be found in *Genesis Rabbah* (16/3) while the second (*PRH*) turns up in *Berakoth* (59b). The latter meaning is also mirrored in *PHILO* (*De Leg. Al.*, I/72) where the Euphrates is said to signify *karpophoria*. Cf. S. RAPPAPORT, *op. cit.*, footnote 13, p. 78.

³¹ Cf. H. St. J. THACKERAY (ed. & tr.), *Josephus with an English Translation* (9 vols.; London-Cambridge, Mass.: 1930), IV, 19.

name which he has given, but the Hebrew one which he has not. *Diglath*, he says, means "at once 'narrowness' (*stenotēs*) and 'rapidity' (*to oxy*)." Some have seen in the etymology references to *daq* and to *had* respectively, and have thus arrived at the conclusion already stated: Jos. is etymologizing on the Hebrew name of the Tigris instead of upon the Aramaic name which he has alluded to.³²

While accepting the conclusion that it is indeed *hidgeqel* which is the unexpressed subject of the etymology, I should like to suggest that there may be a point here which has been overlooked. It is a small point, but nonetheless worth suggesting. According to the above two etymologies everything in *hidgeqel* is accounted for except the final letter. Not only does *had* mean "swift," but also *qal* as well. The beginning *and* the end of the word could each account for *to oxy*; *daq* constitutes the two *middle* consonants and, as already remarked, is understood to account for Jos.' *stenotēs*. But Jos.' Greek phrase expressing the content of his etymology is: "*to meta stenotētos oxy*." Does the "sandwich" form of the expression of his etymology indicate that he sees a "sandwich" expression of his two ideas within *hidgeqel*?³³

Finally, the "Gēōn" is said to flow through Egypt, to signify "that which wells up to us from the opposite world," and to be called "Nile" by the Greeks. The etymology of the river's name actually accounts only for "wells up," all the rest of the description of the river's whereabouts replacing what the MT has to say in making the Gihon flow around the whole land of Cush.³⁴ The presence of Cush (Ethiopia) in the original makes it no enormous task to single out the principal river in that area of the world — the river which flows through Egypt, toward "us" (pre-

³² The Aramaic name is, of course, included in all the Targumim which translate this passage (Gen. 2/14). Piecing *hidgeqel* together, however, has not always been a happy enterprise for those engaged in it. The record of the speculations made about this etymology is contained in S. RAPPAPORT, *op. cit.*, p. 3 & footnote 15, pp. 78-79. The suggestions of permanent value (i.e., *had* and *daq*) have already been mentioned in the body of this investigation.

³³ The effect referred to is more clearly expressed: *had-daq-qal*. The first and the last elements refer to the same idea, the middle element to a second. This might happily be put into Greek as our author has in fact done: *to meta stenotētos oxy*. In the Greek, the first and the last elements also refer to one idea, the middle two to a second. This kind of game-playing should not be thought to be beneath our author (cf. the etymology of "*Arabo*", JA I/221). Along the same lines, it may at least be suggested that if the initial heth of *hidgeqel* were read as *he*, somewhat the same effect might be achieved (*ha-ddaq-qal*). But enough is enough.

³⁴ Jos.' spelling of Geon is the same as the LXX's and the etymology (*ho apo tēs enantias anadidomenos hēmin*) seems to have been suggested by the Hebrew *GYH*/*GWH* (burst forth), the Hebrew orthography of the name being *gihōn*. Cf. footnote 29 of this chapter regarding sources which take Pishon (instead of Gihon) as the Nile. Jos.' identification of this river, however, seems to be in harmony with a text which we have already mentioned (footnote 28 of this chapter) and which certainly deserves more attention than it seems to have received with respect to the whole matter of traditional interpretations of the meaning and locations of the "Rivers of Paradise": *Ben Sira* (24/25-27).

sumably those of the Mediterranean community), and called "Nile." The phrase "from the opposite world" (*apo tēs enantias*), however, may in effect be an indirect reference to Cush itself.

Having seen what Jos. has done with the MT's geographical report on the rivers of Genesis 2, we might attempt a few remarks in summary. The etymologies, on the whole, seem quite pointless and have, of course, no basis whatsoever in the MT itself.³⁵ They do not serve to place the rivers geographically at all, for the only two which need placing (Pishon and Gihon) are placed from the general identification of Havilah and Cush respectively. Respecting the Semitic roots employed in the etymologies, only *PWŠ/PŠY* is more than just possibly Aramaic. Acquaintance with the Aramaic name of Tigris is noteworthy but, as we have seen, its presence is rather awkward in the context where it is found and may have been used merely because it resembles so closely the Greek name of the same river. For Jos. to tell us whither the courses of Euphrates and Tigris tend seems, in the light of the spirit of the whole passage, to be a kind of obvious truth thrown into his presentation in order to make his other declarations of fact more credible. We have, it would seem, been examining a *wissenschaftliche Vorstellung* whose purpose is to impress rather than either to inform or to bring to the reader a true acquaintance with whatever original the author was working from. Jos. has said both too little and too much. Unfortunately, this will not be the last occasion on which he will do so.

The last of the MT's themes in the present series is that of the warning issued by God respecting the tree. The warning is given in Jos. to Adam and Eve simultaneously (as opposed to the MT where only the man is enjoined). This is both because Jos. has introduced Eve onto the scene at an earlier moment than does the MT, but also because the author obviously wishes to account more naturally for Eve's knowledge of the prohibition — a knowledge which she manifests in Gen. 3/3-4 but about whose acquisition the MT has nothing to say.

The command, as Jos. presents it, is not couched in direct discourse, makes no reference to the freedom respecting the other trees which the pair may enjoy, forbids them, not to *eat* of the "tree of knowledge," but to *touch* it, and threatens merely "destruction" (*olethros*) if they should.

According to Gen. 3/3, Eve declares that God forbade them even to touch the tree, but this was not part of the original command to the man (Gen. 2/16-17). Later, the MT makes it obvious also that an element that *was* contained in the original command — the threat of death *on* the very day on which the command were disobeyed — did not eventuate. In order

³⁵ In PHILO, however, Jos. may have found the one who actually gave him the idea of including an etymology for each of the four rivers. The discovery of the significance of these names is a major issue for the Alexandrian. Cf. *De Leg. Al.*, I/63-87.

to rectify the veracity of both Eve and God, Jos. has introduced his changes into the narrative. The recognition of both these surds in the logical flow of the original account, as well as their relation to each other, is underscored in Haggadic tradition.³⁶ Jos.' seemingly casual alterations may once again reflect a background richer in reflection and exegetical expertise than his style connotes.

What comes next of course leads directly to the expulsion of the pair from their original habitat in the garden. It may also therefore be worth noting at this juncture how Jos. has *not* developed his presentation. The single detail respecting the pair's freedom to choose as they would among the trees of the garden, saving the one exception, could not only have been included with significant effect, but have also formed the inspiration for developing into a more general picture the *kind* of state or position in which the pair found themselves before disaster overtook them. But Jos. does not do anything of the kind. We shall see, however, whether or to what extent he was conscious of his opportunity to do so.

(c)

But all in fact was not lovely in the garden, and the sequence of events given in the MT is this time not found altered in Jos. as he retells the contents of Genesis 3. He has, however, had his eye somewhat carefully focused already on what he is now about to relate, for Eve's name, her knowledge of the divine prohibition, and her slightly expanded version of that prohibition are all elements which he has incorporated into his version of Genesis 2. The story we now broach unfolds in five stages: (1) the woman's colloquy with the serpent; (2) the pair's disobedience and its *immediate* consequence; (3) the confrontation and colloquy with God; (4) the divine curses; (5) the aftermath of it all.

Gen. 3/1a gives us a brief background glimpse of the serpent's character. Omitting mention of the one feature the MT emphasizes, the subtlety of the serpent, Jos. replaces this brief background with his much more detailed one. All living creatures spoke a common tongue; and, from living in close proximity with Adam and Eve, the serpent grew jealous of the happiness to be achieved by the pair by their complying with God's commands; and, finally, the serpent believed that disobedience would mean trouble for them.

Any tale which is going to represent the occurrence of a conversation between a beast and a human might find it appropriate to explain how this were possible, especially if the conversation is being treated as a

³⁶ Cf. *Genesis Rabbah* (19/3), where an attempt is made to interpret the data of the MT which might otherwise seem at least ambiguous if not contradictory. As does Jos., the midrashic source concerns itself with the problems of how Eve related the command to the serpent and how the threatened "death" was to be interpreted.

genuinely historical event. A more conservative approach might adhere to the explanation that among the brutes *only* the serpent had the use of speech common to itself and man, for this would be in the spirit, if not exactly according to the sense, of the superlative of Gen. 3/1a. It is, moreover, an interpretation of which Haggadic tradition makes use and one with which Jos. himself seems to be at least marginally acquainted since he makes one of the curses upon the serpent consist *precisely* in the loss of speech.³⁷ Such special status for the serpent alone among the beasts, however, would be a bit harder to swallow than the interpretation here adopted by Jos. which makes of speech something of a natural quality possessed of all sentient beings.³⁸

As at least suggested in Gen. 3/1, the serpent knew about the prohibition respecting the tree even before approaching Eve. Jos. has the serpent know all about the pair's obligation, adding the fact that it lived with them — perhaps a rationalizing nuance to account for this knowledge. It also knew, therefore, of the divine threat, and Jos. also makes *this* clear, again using a bit of vague language (*symphora*) respecting the exact nature of the divine retribution in order doubtless to avoid once again the embarrassing dilemma proposed by the text of the MT. But the serpent also knew that the pair would enjoy happiness in accordance with their living up to their obligation, and this was a consequence of which Jos. never indicates that the pair were as yet aware. It is in this, perhaps, that Jos. is accounting for the serpent's astuteness for which he otherwise fails to give it credit.³⁹

Jos. omits the direct dialogue between the woman and her tempter, and no-one is directly quoted at all. The serpent, Jos. says, maliciously persuaded the woman to taste of the Tree of Knowledge, telling her only what is told her in Gen. 3/5 — the power in the tree of distinguishing good from evil and therefore of making a person capable of leading the blissful existence of a god. Any mention of a threat of death as the consequence of tasting of the tree is avoided, as well as the hint (made by

³⁷ Cf. S. RAPPAPORT, *op. cit.*, pp. 34 & footnote 20, p. 80. To single out the serpent for the gift of speech is a feature of the picture projected by most of the sources cited by Rappaport in this context. This matter is only indirectly important for the study of Jos.' version of Genesis for, as pointed out in the main body of the investigation, this entire aspect of exegetical tradition appears in our author only with relation to the curses imposed on the serpent (cf. p. 62 of this investigation).

³⁸ As the *Book of Jubilees* (3/28) has it: "And on that day was closed the mouth of all beasts, and of cattle, and of birds, and of whatever walks, and of whatever moves, so that they could no longer speak; for they had all spoken one with another with one lip and one tongue."

³⁹ The jealousy of the serpent which Jos. has already recorded is a celebrated theme. From the time of its composition the words of the *Wisdom of Solomon* (2/24) have had their inevitable influence: "But by the envy of the devil death entered into the world, etc.". Echoes more or less close to this initial statement reverberate down the centuries and a sampling of some of them is given by S. RAPPAPORT, *op. cit.*, footnote 21, p. 81. Why the serpent should have been jealous of the protoplasts is not a theme which Jos. takes up.

the serpent at the beginning of Gen. 3/5) that God's command was really intended to withhold from the pair something which was both good and capable of making them into beings of a higher order. For Jos. the serpent's argument lies only and solely in revealing the power of the tree, and neither God's threat, His veracity nor His motives are undermined. It was by these means, Jos. concludes, that the woman was misled to scorn the command of God.

I believe we see in this little introductory passage a good example of the better side of Jos.' exegesis. Though he tends a bit to bowdlerize, he neither over-rationalizes nor over-moralizes in making his version of a passage whose much admired conciseness and psychological insight he seems to have been quite capable of appreciating.

The MT goes into some detail in describing the reaction of Eve (Gen. 3/6), all of which Jos. omits. She tasted of the tree, he says, and, being pleased thereby, persuaded Adam to do the same. The pleasure Eve experiences after having partaken of the tree is not in the MT but chimes in with what will shortly be said about the effect that their action had upon them both. The slight insertion fills in what could be thought a logical gap in the MT, but may also be Jos.' fussy rectification of Eve's *seeing*, *before* she ate of the tree, that it was good for food.

Awareness of their nakedness and shame at exposure to the light of day make the pair take thought of a covering for themselves. So does Jos. follow Genesis closely enough, but the reason he gives for the dawning of this awareness, shame and concern for cover, is that the tree served to supply them *oxytēs* and *dianoia*. This may be simply Jos.' version of: "Then the eyes of both were opened . . ." But, he adds, having covered themselves with fig-leaves to screen their persons, they believed themselves happier in having discovered something they lacked before. For Jos., the abiding effect of the pair's action is not the shame accompanying their awareness of nakedness, but intellectual self-satisfaction in their intellectual ingenuity to supply a newly felt need. The need itself would not seem to remain a discomforting factor once it has been met.

This is the first (and last) context in which the nudity of Adam and Eve is mentioned at all by Jos. who has also omitted it at the conclusion of his description of the woman's creation and will omit it both from the dialogue with God, which follows, and from his account of the final verses of Genesis 3. It is highly probable that Jos. has something in mind either akin to, or directly taken from, the thoughts of Philo on the matter, the lack of shame on the present occasion actually being transferred from the previous context (Gen 2/25) where it is given but which Jos. has up to now passed over.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Cf. PHILO, *De Leg. Al.*, II/53-70. Philo would have it that Adam and Eve being naked meant that they were without either good or evil, for nakedness of soul can show itself as freedom from passions, as loss of virtue, or as neutrality. Adam and

God now enters the garden. Though previously, says Jos., Adam had customarily resorted to His company, he now, conscious of his crime, withdraws.⁴¹ God thinks this odd in one who used to delight in His company but, on asking Adam the reason therefore, receives no answer from the one who is now aware of having transgressed God's command. Probably because Adam is the one with whom God speaks in Genesis, Jos. omits Eve from this passage entirely.

The scene of confrontation between God and the guilty Adam has been reconstructed by our author. God is not heard coming, but merely arrives, at which juncture Adam not only goes to hide but is evidently seen doing so and, in place of the question of the MT ("Where are you?") God asks why Adam is trying to hide, and, in place of the answer the MT has put in Adam's mouth, receives no answer at all. This way of picturing the occurrence avoids two embarrassing things about the question God is made to ask in Genesis: an indication of lack of omniscience, and the seeming pointlessness of such a question to a person whom the MT seems to make present all the time, even though he was supposed to be in hiding. Adam's original reply is fraught with fear but also with shame over his nudity — the latter being a theme which is not popular with Jos. and which he has already made an inconsequential factor. Hence, Adam is left in a silence which Jos. seems to *want* to be as indirect and as clear an indication of guilt as the actual reply given in the original. The silence must be made "pregnant" in some way, and this Jos. seems to be trying to do with all the emphasis he places on the novelty and strangeness of Adam's action and on the fact that this was noted by God. Though Adam's consciousness of guilt is not clearly expressed in the MT it is more than vaguely implied, so that Jos.' noting it may just as easily be the result of his own work as of his reliance upon exegetical traditions which are recorded elsewhere.

In response to Adam's silence, God delivers a small speech — the first direct discourse to be put into His or anyone else's mouth by Jos. thus far. This speech assumes Adam's guilt and takes the place of the words of the MT: "Who told you you were naked? Have you eaten of the tree of which I commanded you not to eat?" Dropping, of course, all reference to nudity, the last part of the original is turned from a question to a direct accusation couched in slightly rhetorical form. The pregnant

Eve were inactive in mind and sense-perception; they were "unashamed" — without either the shamelessness of the worthless person or the shamefastness of the man of worth. This kind of intellectual neutrality is not all that foreign to Jos.' presentation.

⁴¹ Although it might be easily enough deduced from what the MT has to say, the fact that Adam withdraws from God's company because he is conscience-stricken cannot be said to be what the Bible tells us. Jos., in referring to the conscience of Adam at this juncture, is at one with a tradition appearing elsewhere. The *Targum Pseud. Jon.* (at Gen. 3/10) says: "And he (Adam) said: 'The voice of Thy Word heard I in the garden and I was afraid because I am naked; and the commandment which Thou didst teach me I have transgressed; therefore I hid myself from shame'."

silence of Adam gives birth, as is eventually expressly made clear, to a divine homily.

The points made by God are these: the kind of life I had decreed for you would have been happy, unmolested by ill, without soul-distressing care; without toil on your part, but spontaneously and by my providence, all things enjoyable and pleasurable would have sprung up for you; with such gifts, old age would have been long in coming and your life long; my purpose has been flouted by your disobeying my command, for you keep silence from an evil conscience and not from virtue. But, even with all this, Jos. continues to leave us in the dark as to whether Adam had been aware of all God had in mind for his happiness prior to his act of disobedience. Presumably, however, the serpent had divined it all quite correctly.

The three themes of an existence free of evil and care, food without toil and a long life could be drawn from what appears shortly hereafter, for they are, in effect, the mere reverse of what the curses against Adam and Eve entail, and the envisioned length of life could also be based upon what in the original is the availability of the Tree of Life which, though mentioned in passing when dealing with Gen. 2/9, Jos. fails to refer to again.

The speech being concluded, the chain of accusations begins, narrated by Jos., as usual, in indirect discourse. Adam is said to have blamed the woman for the deed and to have said that it was her deception that caused his sin, excusing himself thereof and begging God not to be angry. The woman in her turn accuses the serpent. The MT's interjection of a sly hint into Adam's self-defence that the whole thing was God's fault in giving him the woman to begin with is left out, but Jos. does make Adam ask, not for pardon, but that he not be the object of the divine anger. In effect, this little addition makes Adam appear slightly base.

By the very way he constructs this passage, Jos. makes the divine homily dominate the entire colloquy scene. Its language is highly contrived by contrast with everything that has been seen so far, and it stands out clearly by being the first utterance of any kind that Jos. has deigned to quote directly. It would seem, however, to serve the purpose of somewhat mollifying the curses which follow by making the punishments flow a bit more naturally from the crime committed. The speech also takes on the solemnity of form which the MT gives to the curses but which Jos. does not. In its own way it is a highly functional addition to the narrative.

The order in which the curses are now leveled is reversed, the serpent coming last in Jos., Adam first. Jos. will avoid the word "curse" altogether, however, and nothing, as usual, is in direct discourse.

The pattern of the MT begins with the reason for the curse's utterance ("Because you have listened to . . . your wife, and have eaten . . ."). The

ground is formally cursed and the details of the curse spelled out: "...in toil you shall eat...; thorns and thistles it shall bring forth...; and you shall eat the plants of the field; in the sweat of your face you shall eat..." The pronouncement then ends on the sombre note of Adam's eventual death.

Also beginning with the reason for the punishment about to be imposed on Adam, Jos. abbreviates it by dropping off the reiteration of what the actual transgression was, and confines himself to the first part, but expresses it as "yielding to feminine advice." The earth is not cursed, but God merely says that there will be no more spontaneous yield from the soil, that it will do so only in exchange for toils and grinding labours, even then giving forth but some things and refusing others. The solemn reminder of eventual death is omitted.

Emphasis seems to be being placed heavily on Adam's folly in yielding to a woman, rather than on his disrespect for the divine command. The language is altered from the MT's "voice of your wife" to "feminine advice," with perhaps a hint of the same sarcasm employed by Adam in addressing God (Gen. 3/12) but, as already noted, omitted by Jos. The pre-existence of the spontaneous yield from the earth is to an extent a logical deduction from the fact that Adam must henceforth cultivate it, but it is no air-tight conclusion, for it is not so much agriculture itself which is in question here but its future *difficulty* and the MT has already indicated several times (in passages omitted or altered by Jos.) that man had agricultural work to do in the garden.⁴² The MT's stress on the difficulty in the present context, however, is made by Jos. in the same double fashion. The indication that the earth's response to cultivation will be selective seems to be an interpretation of the inedible and edible produce pictured in Genesis.

When the woman's turn comes, the MT gives no reason for her punishment. Woman's rôle as child-bearer seems to be assumed, but the multiplication of deliveries and of the pain with which these will be accomplished in the future is stressed, the latter by repetition. Her desire will be for her husband and he shall rule over her. Jos. gives a reason for her punishment: because, deluding him as she herself had been beguiled by the serpent, she had brought calamity upon Adam. She is

⁴² Nonetheless there are traditions which fly in the face of this, and the fact that Jos. tells us that God told Adam that the earth would no more produce anything of herself seems to indicate that Jos. may have known of these other traditions. Thus, the *Targum Pseud. Jon.* gives its version of Gen. 2/15 (the placing of Adam in the garden) as follows; "And the Lord God took the man from the mountain of worship where he had been created and made him dwell in the garden of Eden *to do service in the law and to keep the commandments.*" The *Fragment Targum* echoes the same sentiment. *Genesis Rabbah* (16/5) likewise transforms Adam's life in the garden into one of ease and religious observance. For further references to the evidence of this particular tradition, cf. S. RAPPAPORT, *op. cit.*, footnote 24, p. 82.

punished by child-births and the attendant pains, but her desire for her husband, as well as her subjection to him, go unmentioned.

In giving a reason for Eve's punishment, Jos. again seems to be placing stress upon her rôle in the joint transgression. That he should consider child-births (in the plural) one of her punishments does not at all necessarily indicate that he does not assume child-bearing to be her natural rôle but is a quite ordinary rendition of the MT's doctrine on multiplication of deliveries. Like the MT also, Jos.' phraseology tends to emphasize the pains of the procedure.

For the serpent's punishment, however, a reason is given, and the form of the MT runs as follows: "Because you have done this, you are cursed above all cattle . . .; upon your belly you shall go and dust shall you eat . . .; I will put enmity between you and the woman, between your seed and her seed; he shall bruise your head, and you shall bruise his heel." Jos. has the serpent punished in three ways, for the first of which alone reason is given: it is deprived of speech (because of God's indignation at its malignity to Adam); poison is placed under its tongue (for two purposes: it becomes an enemy to man thereby, but also attracts to its most vulnerable part, the head, blows from those to whom it has been made an enemy by its poison); it is deprived of feet, being made to crawl and wriggle on the ground.

Deprivation of speech is a completely new element in this narrative. It replaces the formal curse given in the MT and is of its very nature related directly to the faculty by which the serpent caused his mischief.⁴³ Jos. again highlights Adam, however, as the victimized party in altering the "this" (i.e., the beguiling of Eve) to a malignant act against the man. The poison beneath the tongue rationalizes the enmity between man and serpent, and the rationalization process is carried into the interpretation of the bruising of head and heel.⁴⁴ That the serpent had feet of which to be deprived is, in its turn, the conclusion logically and easily drawn from the nature of the punishment.⁴⁵ This third punishment is somewhat emphasized by being put last in the order instead of in the earlier position where the MT has it, and the original's stress by repetition ("upon your belly you shall go and dust shall you eat") is well retained in the version of our author.

⁴³ Cf. p. 57 of this investigation, footnote 38 of this chapter.

⁴⁴ So, at the end of the version of Gen. 3/14 afforded by the *Targum Pseud. Jon.* we read: "...and the poison of death shall be in thy mouth and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life." *Pirke deRabbi Eliezer* (Ch. 14) also puts poison in the serpent's mouth as the result of its offense.

⁴⁵ The initial words of God to the serpent, according to *Targum Pseud. Jon.* (at Gen. 3/14), are: "Because thou hast done this, cursed art thou of all the beasts of the field; upon thy belly thou shalt go and thy feet shall be cut off, etc....". This same deprivation is recorded in *Genesis Rabbah* (20/5) and *Pirke deRabbi Eliezer* (Ch. 14). It was obviously a well known tradition as the evidence gathered by S. RAPPAPORT would indicate (*op. cit.*, footnote 25, pp. 82-83).

I think the form given to the punishments of Adam and Eve bears a real relationship to the content of the divine homily which we have already examined. It would be tedious and unnecessary to prolong the analysis any further by contrasting the two sections, but one point should perhaps now be made. Jos. seems to indicate that death is well within the natural order of things and that it is merely hastened by the tribulations with which Adam is now to be afflicted. This was his clear teaching in the divine homily, and it was remarked at the time that this could be being made to account for the death theme with which the MT's curse upon Adam concludes, and/or for the preclusion from access to the Tree of Life (Gen. 3/22-24) — both of which themes Jos. does not mention. His by-passing of the final solemn portion of Adam's curse does not mean, therefore, that he has not noted its presence in the original or not taken account of it. The omission of Eve's desire for, and subjection to, her husband is likewise clarified by the relationship of the homily to the punishments. According to the logical pattern from which Jos. seems to be working, what lies in the future for the pair is the opposite of what they have, or would have, enjoyed if they had not transgressed. If, then, what has been omitted respecting Eve had been taken account of, it might appear that it was to be a part of her original bliss to have no desire for her husband and to be independent of his control!

Longevity and the shortening of life will be a thing upon which Jos. will harp at length in later contexts. It might therefore be good to remark in passing that he has quite consciously made this question part of his treatment even at this early stage.

Having imposed these penalties upon them, says Jos., God removed Adam and Eve from the garden to another place. The curses of the MT end at Gen. 3/19, and Gen. 3/20, the bestowing of the name of Eve upon the woman, has been removed by Jos. to an earlier context. He has therefore only Gen. 3/21-24 to account for, and he has done so in the above-mentioned summary fashion.

The garments made by God for the pair from skins (Gen. 3/21) might have seemed to duplicate Genesis' earlier reference to the coverings made from fig-leaves or to imply a reference to animal slaughter which Jos. preferred to avoid. In any case, he omits mention of this event.

In the final verses of Genesis 3 the man's exit from the garden is both a separation from access to the Tree of Life (Gen. 3/22, 24) and a dispatch to till the ground from which he was taken (Gen. 3/23). Jos. at this point removes all trace of the presence of the Tree of Life. The pair's enforced departure is really given no specific motive and it might be assumed that, having excised the Tree of Life theme entirely from this section, Jos. was left with the other motive which chimed in sufficiently well with the whole of what he had already reported in the narration of Adam's punishment that it did not need repeating or emphasizing. If it

were repeated, however, it would raise the additional question of why tilling the soil with all its attendant toils could not be carried out in the confines of the garden as well. Its insufficiency as a true motive for what he is describing, therefore, is probably why he chooses to forget it.

The above-mentioned brief and summary description which ends this section in Jos. is his version of the first part of Gen. 3/24, replacing the MT's much stronger "drove" with "removed" (*metoikizei*), and adding Eve to the picture, for her presence is not indicated in Genesis. The "other place" to which they were removed is left vague (doubtless purposely) in Jos. and is really not mentioned in the MT at all, but in completing the idea of "removal" it helps to soften what in the MT is, or appears to be, an abrupt action showing little care on the part of God for what would become of the man He drove out.

Together with Adam and Eve, we too take leave of the garden, and of Jos.' version of our origins as well.

CHAPTER 2: Degenerations

Out of the relatively peaceful garden we proceed into a somewhat different atmosphere, as Jos.' version (*JA* I/52-108) takes us from the births of Cain and Abel to Noah's death notice. It is a different world in more ways than one.

For those used to the Genesis order of things, it will be immediately apparent that the bulk of Genesis 5 has been displaced into the centre of the flood account, and replaced by a relatively lengthy and interesting general description of the Sethites and their achievements. This is the overall picture, vis-à-vis Genesis itself.

This chapter also marks the first occasion for the introduction of external witnesses into Jos.' retelling of Genesis, their authority being brought to bear upon the historical reality behind the ark and the flood, as well as upon the feasibility of the longevity of the ancients.

More importantly, the methods of refashioning the basic narrative, as these come to the fore in the saga of Cain and his descendants and in the first portion of the flood story, give new insight into Jos.' approach to the whole fabric of the matter with which he is dealing.

The material to be examined has been divided into three sections. The first treats of Cain and the Cainites. Thence, we go on to the Sethites, their degeneration and the first section of the flood account. Finally, there is the flood itself together with select portions of its aftermath up to the death of Noah. This division of the flood narrative into two sections follows what Jos. has done in ordering the general sequence of his version, for just at the first part of what we know as Gen. 7/11 Jos. draws a line and pauses to examine the genealogy of Noah and the chronology of the flood.

(a)

Without reference to any foregoing mutual carnal knowledge on the part of Adam and Eve, Jos. lists their offspring: Cain (meaning "acquisition"), Abel (meaning "nothing"), and some daughters. These last seem to be founded on the information afforded by Gen. 5/4 but appear frequently in interpretative tradition.¹ Our author fails to say who gave

¹ The *Book of Jubilees* (4/1, 8) maintains that there were two girls among the first five offspring of Adam and Eve: Awan (before Seth and after Abel); Azura (after Seth). The tradition which Jos. is more likely to have had in mind, however, is a

Cain his name or why he was given it, and this particular form of omission becomes now almost standard.² The etymology of "Abel" is, of course, not in Genesis.

As in the MT, we are now told about the different occupations of the two brothers, or, as Jos. would have it, the different pursuits in which they took pleasure. For Abel, who is merely a keeper of sheep in the MT, there is a long encomium. He, the younger, respected justice, believed God to be with him in all his actions, and paid heed to virtue. His life was *poimenikos*. Not so Cain! Again, but a tiller of the ground in the MT, the character of this man becomes transformed by Jos.: he is thoroughly depraved, has an eye only for gain; he was the first to think of ploughing the soil, and he slew his brother for reasons which will follow.

The praise of Abel as couched by Jos. is mirrored in the well known debate between the brothers which the Targumim place as an addendum to Gen. 4/8. Therein also Abel is a great respecter of justice and a firm believer in the doctrine of just retribution according to the nature of the act. Jos.' description could almost be a précis of the content of the famous Aramaic interpolation.³ The condemnation of Cain is drawn mainly from the lust for gain which his name connotes.⁴ Earth-tilling in general is, as we will shortly see,⁵ a totally unworthy and improper occupation in Jos.' mind, and this seems a bit odd in the light of the fact that Adam had been told that the earth would yield only in return for toil and grinding labour. The plough itself may appear here, however, as part of the general interest Cain is supposed (later) to have in inventions and things metallic (especially bronze?).⁶

truly quite popular one wherein a twin sister was born at the same time as both Cain and Abel. This is found in *Jebamoth* (62a), where it is connected with an opinion of Rabbi Nathan (end of the second century A.D.), and in *Genesis Rabbah* (22/2). In the latter source, according to the opinion of R. Joshua b. Karḥah, Abel was born the male of a set of triplets.

² PHILO (*De Sac.*, 2) offers the exact same meaning for the name Cain (i.e., *ktēsis*) as does Jos. Haggadic tradition (*Genesis Rabbah*, 22/7) has Cain and Abel quarreling over possessions. This is not all so clearly the fault of Cain, however. *Exodus Rabbah* 31/17) is much more in line with Jos.' thinking when it says that Cain was anxious to take possession of the whole world.

³ Abel likewise receives an extremely fine press throughout the works of PHILO. The debate between Cain and Abel referred to in the main body of this investigation is reported by three Targumim (at Gen. 4/8): *Pseud. Jon.*, *Neofiti*, and the *Fragment Targum*. In the confrontation as we read of it in the Targumim, there are but two exchanges of opinion, Cain in each case denying and Abel affirming the fact that the world is governed with justice.

⁴ Cf. footnote 2 of the present chapter.

⁵ Cf. p. 67 of this investigation. As *Genesis Rabbah* (22/3) would have it: "Three had a passion for agriculture and no good was found in them: Cain, Noah, and Uzziah".

⁶ Cf. the summary of and commentary on Jos.' presentation of Cain's character and achievements (pp. 71-72 of this investigation). But Cain's practical wit and inventiveness and inventions need not be a function of his otherwise evil character; cf. S. RAPPAPORT, *Agada und Exegese*... (Frankfurt a. M.: 1930), footnote 31, pp. 83-84.

The brothers, says Jos., decided to sacrifice to God, and Cain brought fruits gotten of the tilled earth and of trees, while Abel brought milk and his flocks' firstlings. Tree-fruit is thus added to the MT's version of Cain's offering, while the same text's "fat portions" (of the flocks) is changed to "milk" in the case of Abel's. For the tree-fruit, Jos. seems to be reaching a bit far ahead in history to the fruit offering of Leviticus 19/23-25, and it is perhaps being implied, at least to those who might be expected to know, that the fruit was being offered at an improper time and this, joined with the quite unacceptable produce of the tilled earth, rendered the offering doubly unacceptable.⁷ As for the milk, Jos., or whatever tradition he is following, has read *ḥālāb* where the MT has pointed *ḥēleb*.⁸

Now Abel's offering finds more favour with God, and the reason given by Jos. is that God is honoured by things which grow spontaneously and in accord with natural laws, but not by products forced from nature by the ingenuity of grasping man. It may appear from this that Jos. actually did wish to restrict the working of the soil to Adam as a penalty established only for him — that is, if Jos. is making any effort to be consistent at all.

Cain now becomes angry (Gen. 4/5b). For verses 6 through 8 there exists no counterpart in Jos. excepting the last part of the latter, "Cain rose up against his brother Abel and killed him," which Jos. simply says he did. Cain's message from God and the locale of the crime are skipped. But Jos. adds that Cain hid Abel's corpse in order to escape detection. The burial of Abel appears elsewhere in versions of this episode,⁹ but it may have arisen logically from words quoted by the MT: "The voice of your brother's blood is crying to me from the ground."

The conversation between God and Cain which now follows becomes quite complex. We will first examine that part of it which extends through Gen. 4/9-10. In the MT God simply asks Cain of Abel's whereabouts and receives the famous reply: "I do not know; am I my brother's keeper?" The response of God to this is at the same time an indication that He knows already what has happened ("The voice of your brother's blood . . .") and a direct accusation expressed in an exclamatory rhetorical question: "What have you done?" All this is incorporated quite nicely by our author.

⁷ According to S. RAPPAPORT (*op. cit.*, pp. 5-6), the fact that Cain also brought tree-fruit indicates that Jos. was thinking of the Feast of Weeks as the occasion when the brothers brought forward their offerings. Another opinion as to the nature of the occasion in question is found in *Targum Pseud. Jon.* (at Gen. 4/3) and in *Pirke deRabbi Eliezer* (Ch. 21). In both instances the occasion is Passover.

⁸ Why Jos. did this has been the subject of some debate. S. RAPPAPORT (*op. cit.*, pp. xxi-xxii) has his own theory. According to Rappaport, Jos. was using an Aramaic text which reads *šmēn* (cream) for *šmēn* (fat). This same author also lists and criticizes the opinions of some others who have offered their own explanations (*op. cit.*, footnote 33, pp. 84-85).

⁹ Cf. *Pirke deRabbi Eliezer* (Ch. 21): "Rabbi Jochanan said: 'Cain did not know that the secrets are revealed before the Holy One, blessed be He. He took the corpse of his brother Abel and hid it in the field.'"

Though nothing is as yet in direct discourse, Jos. has God approach Cain with full knowledge of the deed and ask the leading question, appending an excuse for asking it which would allay the guilty party's immediate suspicions and, presumably, test his sincerity by giving him the opportunity for voluntary confession. Cain is embarrassed because he has nothing to reply and says he too is puzzled at not seeing his brother — a rather elaborate development of the MT's quite simple: "I don't know." Supposedly God presses the point — an addition of Jos. — until Cain becomes angry and gives Jos.' version of the MT's classic response by saying that he was not his brother's guardian to keep watch over his person and actions. Then God accuses Cain directly of his brother's murder and is allowed by Jos. to break into direct discourse: "I marvel that you cannot tell what has become of a man you yourself have destroyed." Though somewhat sophisticated in its conclusion, this little section is nicely turned and quite well developed. The softening of the abrupt "Where is your brother Abel?" with the equivalent of "I haven't seen him around lately and he used to be with you all the time" gives Cain the opportunity of working up to his angry avowal. The niceties are apparent, and it is not necessary to dwell on them.

In the MT the conversation continues thus: the ground is cursed and will no longer yield Cain food (Gen. 4/11-12a) — this is apparently omitted by Jos.; Cain is made a wanderer and fugitive (12b); Cain replies that his punishment is too great to bear (13); he continues that because of his new status (separated from ground, hidden from God's face, fugitive) he will be prey to all who meet him (14); God denies this last, saying harm to Cain will be avenged seven-fold (15a) — the key verse; the promise of protection is carried out by the placing of the mark on Cain (15b).

It was perhaps a puzzle to most interpreters of Genesis 4 why Cain was not destroyed by God but was let off capital punishment and actually protected. Jos.' solution is as follows. Cain repents his deed — a not uncommon interpretation of Gen. 4/13¹⁰ — and, a whole new twist being given to verse 15a, he is exonerated though cursed (the general tenor of 11-12) and his punishment leveled at others (the re-interpretation of 15a again!). He and his *wife* are made fugitives (12b — the wife is brought in from a slightly later context) and, when he shows fear of falling prey to wild *beasts* (last part and main point of 14), God, in a highly benign

¹⁰ *Targum Pseud. Jon.* (at Gen. 4/24) has Lamech say: "For Cain who sinned and was converted by repentance had protection unto seven generations extended to him; and to Lamech, the son of his son, who hath not sinned it is just that it shall be extended unto seventy and seven." This same tradition regarding Cain's repentance enters as something of an accepted and well known fact into the discussions carried out in *Leviticus Rabbah* (10/5) and *Deuteronomy Rabbah* (8/1). Finally, we read in *Pirke deRabbi Eliezer* (Ch. 21): "Cain spoke before the Holy One, blessed be He: 'Sovereign of all the worlds! My sin is too great to be borne for it has no atonement.' This utterance was reckoned to him as repentance, etc."

little pat on the back, assures Cain there is nothing to worry about. The mark by which Cain may be recognized (*by whom* is not clear) is put on him (15b) and he is told to go.

The attention automatically focuses on the interpretation given to Gen. 4/15a, and it will be wise to have the MT's words before us: "Then the Lord said to him: 'Not so! Anyone slaying Cain shall have vengeance taken upon him sevenfold.'" In its MT context it is a guarantee of the protection which is expedited by placing the mark. The benignity of God manifest in the MT by this verse is retained only to the extent that upon it is apparently based the exoneration of Cain (for his aforementioned penitence), but with the exoneration is directly coupled the leveling upon others of the punishment due to *him* — an interpretation which rips the verse out of its original context altogether. But upon what "others" was this punishment placed?

Jos. says: "... and (God) threatened to punish his descendants within (*kata*) the seventh generation (*gennean*)...." It is rather important what meaning one gives the preposition in this phrase. With Thackeray, I too hold there is no natural meaning of "down to" when *kata* is used instead of *eis* to express temporal duration.¹¹ It does not seem to me that there is any truly honest way of making *kata* mean anything but what I have indicated.

Granting all the evidence there is for a re-interpretation of Gen. 4/15a along the lines Jos. has taken, there may well have existed a tradition which made *Cain*, and not "anyone killing" the subject of the verb. How this in fact was effected is a speculation upon which we cannot afford to delay. All that is necessary is to make *lō' kēn* (or *lākēn*) *kol-hōrēg* fit into whatever meaning one chooses the rest of the phrase to have. What seems possible, however, is that the rest of the phrase took on a meaning of its own. For seven times *Cain* is "punished" (retaining *yūqqām* as in the MT, but changing its significance) or "stands" (deriving the verb from *QWM* instead of *NQM*).¹² "Seven times" of course need not mean "seven generations," but in the traditions where it is in fact made to mean this we may have before us the materials from which various interpretations could have developed.

As already indicated, I believe Jos. to be attempting to incorporate into his version a tradition which might possibly stem from the second of the two above-mentioned exegeses. Even so, this same basis could

¹¹ Cf. H. St.J. THACKERAY, *Josephus with an English Translation* (9 vols., London-Cambridge, Mass.: 1930), IV, 27.

¹² The verb *yūqqām*, when taken as the *hoph'al* (or *qal* passive) of the Hebrew verbal root *NQM*, can bear two meanings: (1) "be avenged" — the meaning ordinarily given it in Gen. 4/24; (2) "suffer vengeance" — the way it is usually understood in Gen. 4/15. By changing the pointing from *yūqqām* to *yāqum* the form becomes imperfect *qal* of the root *QWM*. In such a case it could bear the meaning "last, continue" (as in ISam 13/14).

lead in the direction of supposing that for seven generations Cain remained unpunished and *then*, personally, received his just deserts, and there exists evidence of just such interpretation.¹³ Jos. does not seem to take this turn, however.

If Jos. is to be supposed consistent, and, I believe, on this he tries to be, the only important matter to notice in the present connection is that he eventually presents Lamech as the one who will pay for Cain's crime, and therefore gives every evidence of supposing that Lamech constitutes the "seventh generation." The fact that Lamech is to pay supports the reading I have made of Jos.' text at this point. What constitutes a "generation" and how this is to be reckoned will be a separate problem taken up in connection with the all-important "Song of Lamech."

One may, probably quite correctly, surmise that the shift from fear of men to fear of beasts on the part of Cain is intended, originally, to reconcile the MT data with the fact that there were no other men to encounter at the time, saving, of course, Adam, Eve and Cain's own wife.¹⁴ The representation of God's benignity on this occasion is a touch, however, which should be kept in mind.

But the mark on Cain is given no reasonable explanation by Jos. Are we to suppose that it was a way by which future generations of men were to recognize the first homicide? What is made quite clear by Jos. is that the mark has no apparent connection with the warding off of beasts. The context in which we find the imposing of the mark has such a gentle and non-vindictive quality that it scarcely seems to be meant as a means to future shame. A warning to others may, however, be the purpose Jos. has in mind, considering the various things which he is about to say of Cain in what remains of his version of Genesis 4.

Jos. now has Cain, after long travels, settling with his wife at a place called Nais. Perhaps the sudden introduction by the MT of a *femina ex machina* for Cain at Gen. 4/17 was a little too abrupt for Jos. and we have been prepared now twice for her appearance as the mother of Cain's children.¹⁵ Cain's wife and her provenance, however, proved a much more preoccupying concern for other interpreters of Genesis than she seems

¹³ That Cain had seven generations of protection extended to him (on account of his repentance) is the message of *Targum Pseud. Jon.* (at Gen. 4/24) already quoted in footnote 10 of this chapter. That Cain *eventually* suffered the penalty of his sin is, however, the clear declaration of the *Book of Jubilees* (4/31-33) where the event is made to happen in the same year as Adam's death.

¹⁴ Cain's fear of beasts, however, appears elsewhere. PHILO (*Quaest. in Gen.*, I/74), explaining Gen. 4/14, gives three sources for Cain's fear of being killed, the second being "because he feared the attacks of beasts and reptiles, for nature produced these for the punishment of unjust men." In *Genesis Rabbah* (22/12) the cattle, beasts and birds assemble to demand justice for Abel's death, on which occasion God's protection (Gen. 4/15) is extended to Cain.

¹⁵ Cain is expelled with his wife in *JA* I/58 and settles with her in a place called Nais according to *JA* I/60. It is after this that Jos. accounts for the birth of Cain's progeny (Gen. 4/17; *JA* I/60).

to have done for Jos.¹⁶ As usual, Jos. omits mentioning Eden with reference to the position of Nais — his spelling of the LXX's "Naid" (for the MT's "Nod"). Cain's travels may just be a reference to his status of wanderer which is sufficiently emphasized in the MT, and Jos. has Cain anticipate his future travels with reference to Cain's fear of the beasts which he might encounter.

It is indicated at this point, as also in the MT, that children were born to Cain, but, once again, without the candid reference to prevenient carnal knowledge. But before getting down to describing this progeny, Jos. has a go at Cain and his disreputable character. It is no brief attack. He is said to have: indulged every corporal pleasure even if this entailed the maltreatment of his companions (*synontes*); increased his *oikos* by wealth gotten through rapine and violence; incited luxury and pillage in all whom he met, becoming their instructor in wicked practices; put an end to the simplicity of men's former existence by inventing weights and measures, converting their guileless and generous lives (led in ignorance of all this) to craft (*panourgia*); been the first to fix boundaries of land, and to build a city fortified with walls wherein he forced his clan to congregate.

By the time we rejoin the MT in Jos.' description of the last aspect of Cain's nastiness, the picture is already a large one, but, in effect, our author is but harping on a combination of a few themes: lust for gain, violence, hedonism and originality. His work as city-builder for instance is made sinister by the references to violence employed in the description. But whence the rest? We have already noted the obvious association of "acquisitiveness" which even the MT establishes in the very name "Cain" itself. The Hebrew verbal root in question is *QNH*. Cain has already been sufficiently depicted as a violent man by the very fact of his fratricide. Exegesis, however, may have found in the verbal root *QN* something which underscored what in Cain has already been shown as a personal characteristic, the temperamental "ardour" which it denotes being applicable not only to the way Cain went about "acquiring" his gains but likewise to the way in which he did everything else. But *QN* denotes more than just an "ardour" which can have its clear and attested application to contexts where it is the adornment of either anger or passionate love; for *QN* denotes invidiousness and jealousy as well.

We have noted already that the reference to Eden has been dropped by Jos. from his description of where Cain settled. The phrase of the MT is *qidmat-ēden*. In *Midrash Aggadah* we read: "He (Cain) was the

¹⁶ Cf. footnote 1 of this chapter. A good deal of the material relating to Adam's female offspring has to do with explaining how Cain and Seth were eventually able to produce offspring. Philo, on the other hand, in his *De Posteritate Caini* (33-35), is very concerned indeed to denounce those who think that Cain's wife was his sister. She is, for the Alexandrian, "the opinion held by an impious man's reasoning faculty".

first man who sought selfish pleasure.”¹⁷ In fact, therefore, Jos. may have not dropped a version of the Hebrew phrase from Cain’s story at all. From the non-appearing “Eden” could come, in fact, everything Jos. has been saying about Cain’s hedonism, and from the equally reinterpreted *qidmat-*, all Cain’s originality.

There is one more point worth mentioning in connection with Cain’s demerits. He is said to have invented weights and measures. The *qāneh* was a reed which attained the status of a standard measure (6 cubits) but which was also used to denote the beam of a balance. Though a vague logical connection might be found between Cain’s love of gain and the invention of the tools of trade, the fact that his name can be so etymologically associated is in itself noteworthy.

Who were Cain’s companions whom he abused for his hedonistic purposes, etc.? We are not told, and the fact that Jos. makes the point in one place that it was his household (*hoi oikeioi*) with whom he was dealing does not by any means indicate that these were members of his family. But perhaps the fact that Cain, outside of his immediate family, was a lone human upon the earth did not preoccupy Jos. all that much. In any case, what Jos. obviously has in view is a society in which Cain is operating, and if this indicates indirectly the great age of Cain while he was so engaged (i.e., having been so long-lived that he survived to see a populated world) it would not be inconsonant with other interpretations of his story.¹⁸

The Cainite genealogy is now rapidly reviewed by our author. After naming his city after his eldest son who, we are now told, had the name of Anoch, the birth of the rest is slipped through as fast as in the MT. Irad, Mahujael, Mathushael and Lamech flash by in quick succession. But suddenly there is a change: Lamech had seventy-seven children, *all* by his two wives Zillah and Adah. This seems somehow to be an interpretation of the last line of the so-called “Song of Lamech” (Gen. 4/23-24) and we will return to these seventy-seven children when reaching the context in which the “song” appears. The four children singled out of the multitude for mention are the only four mentioned by the MT at all: Jobel and Jubal from Adah; Jubel (for the MT’s Tubal-cain) from Zillah; Lamech’s daughter Noema is accounted for but the fact that she was born of Zillah is not.

¹⁷ Cf. S. BUBER (ed.), *Agadischer Commentar zum Pentateuch* (Vienna: 1894). The passage quoted here is taken from M. M. KASHER’s *Torah Shelemah* (New York: 1934-1949), Genesis IV, #125.

¹⁸ Sources which have invented chronological indications to accompany the Cainite genealogy make Cain die a very old man, probably imitating the style of the Sethite chronology more than being up to anything more subtle. Thus, the *Book of Jubilees* (cf. footnote 13 of this chapter) has Cain die in 930 *anno mundi*. Cain’s birth date, according to the same source, was somewhere between 64 and 70. The *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* of PSEUDO-PHILO (2/3-4) makes Cain pass away at the age of 730.

The three sons mentioned (and Jos. keeps reminding us that they are only three of a good many more)¹⁹ have occupations which are described more or less as in the MT. The first (Jobel=Jabal) erected tents and raised sheep — a slight precision of the more generic *miqneh* of the MT. The second (Jubal=Jabal) practised music and invented both harps and lutes. The granting of the status of musician to the second of Lamech's sons prevents him from being identified only with certain branches of the art, as the MT's image would *literally* have it. It should be noted that pipes are dropped, and Jubal invented *two* stringed instruments. The third (Jubel=Tubal-cain) was, according to the MT, the inventor of metal-forging that Jos. also says he was, but about this third man our author knows something more. He surpassed all men in strength, distinguished himself in the art of war, and procured by means of the latter talent the means for satisfying the pleasures of the body. Why Jos. should emphasize the strength of the first smith is unclear apart from the nature of the occupation itself. The other additions to the image, however, come from a tradition either invented or known of by Philo.²⁰ As has already been mentioned, Naamah is now called Lamech's daughter but her relation to Tubal-cain is noticeably by-passed.

We now arrive at the most problematic segment of Jos.' version of Genesis 4: the "Song of Lamech." Our author says that, because of his clear knowledge of divine things, Lamech saw that he was to pay a greater penalty for Cain's murder of his brother, and that he made this known to his wives.²¹ I have chosen the reading of the text of the *JA* which inserts "greater" because this is the testimony of the better manuscripts, and of the two possible readings I believe it to make greater sense.²²

What is clear in any case is that Lamech must undergo punishment for Cain's fratricide, and Jos., if he were being consistent, might be at-

¹⁹ Thus in *JA* I/64, when beginning to talk of the three sons of Lamech whom Genesis actually mentions (Jabal, Jubal, Tubal-cain), Jos. specifically says that they were part of the group of seventy-seven which has just been mentioned (*JA* I/63), and when speaking of Tubal-cain our author says that he was *one* of the sons of Lamech's other wife (i.e., Zillah). Genesis indicates that Tubal-cain had a sister but says nothing of any brothers. Jos. is thus again reminding us of his earlier statement about the seventy-seven.

²⁰ Cf. PHILO, *De Posteritate Caini*, 116-119. The Alexandrian reads moral dimensions into Tubal-cain's preoccupation with hammer and anvil. Thus (*loc. cit.*, 116) we read: "For the soul that is vehemently concerned about bodily pleasures or the materials of outward things is being ever hammered on an anvil, beaten out by the blows of his desires with their long swoop and reach." PHILO's treatment of Tubal-cain is very much along the lines adopted, in much briefer fashion, by Jos. According to *Genesis Rabbah* (23/3) it was Tubal-cain who perfected Cain's sin, for Cain slew but lacked the weapons for slaying.

²¹ Jos.' saying that Lamech had a clear knowledge of divine things is something of a compliment. A similarly benign judgment of Lamech appears in *Genesis Rabbah* (23/2) where he is said to have been the best of his generation.

²² The clause in question runs: *epei ta theia saphōs exepistamenos heōra dikēn hauton hyphexonta tēs Kaios adelphoktonias meizona* . . . This reading has the attestation of mss. R and O. Cf. H. St.J. THACKERAY, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

tempting to match this interpretation of the present context with one he has given previously — that God threatened to punish Cain's descendants in the seventh generation. It is perhaps time that the question be asked: what does "generation" mean? In the Cainite genealogy there is no seventh generation *from* Cain, even when Lamech's children are counted as constituting the final element. More important, there is no *chronology* attached to the Cainites as there is to the Sethites. The two genealogies have suffered much comparison, attention being attracted to such an operation not only because of what the Cainites lacked (i.e., a chronology) but also because of the names which the two lists quite patently have in common. Lamech is one of these names. For the sake of completeness and clarity, these lists had best be reviewed.

		1	Adam	Adam	1		
	1	2	Cain	Seth	2	1	
1	2	3	Enoch	Enosh	3	2	1
2	3	4	Irad	Kenan	4	3	2
3	4	5	Mehujael	Mahalalel	5	4	3
4	5	6	Methushael	Jared	6	5	4
5	6	7	Lamech	Enoch	7	6	5
6	7	8	Lamech's children	Methuselah	8	7	6
				Lamech	9	8	7
				Noah	10	9	8
				Noah's sons	11	10	9

The collocation of the two lists also allows us to see at a glance *who might* be supposed to belong to the generation of *whom* in the other list.

In a somewhat later context, Jos. will give an indication of what *he* means by "generation." In JA I/79 he is giving a partial account of the genealogy of Genesis 5. There he says: "He (Noah) was the tenth descendant of Adam . . ." A glance at the above table will indicate immediately that Adam is counted in this enumeration. Applying this same principle to the Cainite genealogy we *do* find Lamech in the seventh place after Adam, counting Adam. If this is what Jos. has in mind, however, it calls for a slightly different understanding of a previous statement he has made. God has told Cain that He would punish his descendants in the seventh generation, and the natural interpretation is to understand "generation" here as in one way or another counting from Cain (cf. the two other numerations given in the above table), but in neither of these cases does Lamech turn up seventh. He *could* of course mean "his descendants in the seventh generation from Adam." This is hardly what one would call a natural understanding of the text, but there is some warrant for thinking that one interpretative tradition made Lamech's children the victims of the flood.²³

²³ That Lamech was of the generation of the flood seems to be assumed at least

These things being said, let us return for a moment to the version of Lamech's "song" itself. "I have slain a man for wounding me, a young man for striking me" achieves no clear and unmistakable presence in Jos., unless his statement that Lamech had clear knowledge of divine things, which does not appear in the MT, is meant to express it. If so, the mechanics of this are a puzzle. That Lamech will pay for the fratricide committed by an ancestor a price which is somehow "higher," is, I believe, something that can be gotten from the last portion of the "song." This demands changing the meaning of *yūqqam*: "If Cain is *punished* seven times, Lamech *will be punished* seventy-seven times," is a possible reading which another besides Jos. has construed.²⁴

It may be objected that giving this meaning to Gen. 4/24 in order to arrive at what he says, makes Jos. contradict the whole idea of prorogation of punishment. If punishment is put off, how can he think of Cain as suffering at all? Nevertheless, the whole phrase could be thought of as an abstract comparison, merely indicating that the second is greater than the first, and making no definite commitment about the historical fact that one did suffer seven actual times, and the other will do so seventy-seven times. This fits the vague "greater" which I think is the better reading and which, by the absence of all reference to why or how the punishment should be greater, fits in with the somewhat oracular character Jos. gives the statement. Lamech, presumably in the seventh generation, will suffer for Cain's crime, but in a greater degree.

The seventy-seven children of Lamech do, however, deserve attention seeing that they probably derive somehow from the last verse of the "song". But for their presence, the two parts of Jos.' characterization of Cain's punishment could be made to fit rather well, if not to everyone's complete satisfaction. The children re-open the whole problem, and perhaps they lead to a clarification of a kind.

There were two theories about the meaning of Lamech's character as expressed in his "song": (1) personal innocence; (2) personal guilt. The establishment of the first thesis would have the last line read something

by two sources: *Genesis Rabbah* (23/2), which is quoted above in footnote 21, and PSEUDO-PHILO's *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (2/6-10). The latter source does not make the point in so many words, but what is clear is that during Lamech's time men began to do evil on the earth and thereby made God angry; men were corrupting the earth and Lamech himself is unquestionably of an evil character. The fact that PSEUDO-PHILO places all this immediately before his version of Gen. 6/14 (which, in turn, immediately precedes his account of the flood) seems to indicate that he is definitely thinking of Lamech in terms of the kind of thing which Genesis says precipitated the deluge.

²⁴ Cf. PSEUDO-PHILO, *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (2/10): "Hear my voice ye wives of Lamech, give heed to my precept; for I have corrupted men for myself and have taken away sucklings from the breasts that I might show my sons how to work evil and the inhabitants of the earth. And now shall vengeance be taken seven times of Cain, but of Lamech seventy times seven." On the change in meaning of *yūqqām* here, cf. footnote 12 of this chapter.

like: "If Cain, who was guilty, had his punishment put off seven times, I, who am innocent, should have mine put off seventy-seven." This in fact fits the general tenor of Jos.' picture where Lamech's suffering is vicarious, rather than personal, where suffering the penalty is actually put off to another time, and where Lamech's knowledge of things divine at least adumbrates the character of a less barbarous type.

The assumption of Lamech's personal guilt is more complicated. It has its personal side and its propagative side. "If Cain suffered seven times, I, who am guiltier, will suffer seventy-seven times." This theoretical side of the question seems to be known to Jos., as we have indicated, but not incorporated according to the logical context out of which it grew. The propagative side of Lamech's personal guilt would signify that if Cain's "progeny" suffered to the seventh degree, mine will suffer to the seventy-seventh. The interpretation here *could* include seventy-seven descendants (but, unfortunately, not children precisely). This same propagative side would seem to be excluded from Jos.' picture because, although it is indeed a greater punishment, it supposes that seven descendants (howsoever reckoned) have suffered and that Lamech had not seventy-seven children but would have that many *lineal* offspring.

It would suggest that Jos. knew of all these traditions, and incorporated them to the extent he was able.

The Cainites disappear from our author's narrative in a swirl of invective which repeats much of what has already been said about Cain personally and functions as a literary device to end one story before beginning another. Within Adam's lifetime, says Jos., the descendants of Cain went to depths of depravity, for: each ended worse than his predecessor by inheriting or imitating his vices; they dashed into war and robbery without let; the less warlike displayed their *aponoia* by insolence and greed.²⁵ Granted that this functions as a coda to the dismal Cainite picture, the contents are also couched, it would seem, so that a contrast between the Cainites and the Sethites, who are about to be described, would be readily made.

"Within Adam's lifetime" deserves some comment, however. A careful examination of the chronology of the genealogy of Genesis 5 reveals that all the descendants of Adam through Seth were born during Adam's lifespan, excepting Noah. As is well known, however, Jos. gives a different version of the numbers of this chronology, and according to his system, the last Sethite to be born during Adam's lifetime was *Mahalalel*. The most natural reading of Jos.' little summary is that he means it to include everyone he has mentioned, up to and including Lamech and his sons. If indeed there ever was an attempt to match the Sethite chronology to

²⁵ PHILO (*De Posteritate Caini*, 42-43) also makes of the Cainites a race of evil-doers. The kind of thing which *Pirke deRabbi Eliezer* (Ch. 22) assigns to the "Generations of Cain" makes Jos.' diatribe appear extremely mild.

the Cainite genealogy, the result would have been that both Lamech and his sons *would* have fallen within the life-span of Adam according to the MT's version of Genesis 5, but not according to Jos.' The supposition, however, that everything in Gen. 4/1-24 occurred during Adam's life may very well have been originally founded upon the fact that after Gen. 4/24 we turn at once and abruptly back to Adam as though the begetting of Seth (Gen. 4/25) took place *after* the events which immediately precede, and Jos., at least, will say nothing that would expressly contradict that supposition.

(b)

The MT is constructed in such a way that the last two verses of Genesis 4 relate the birth of Seth to Adam, and of Enosh to Seth, respectively. Genesis 5 then begins this same genealogy *again* and carries it down to Noah and his sons. The birth of Seth to Adam is therefore the subject of Gen. 4/25 and of Gen. 5/3-5 and this is what is now the subject of Jos.' narrative. The rest of the MT's bits and pieces are scattered to the winds. Gen. 5/6-32, the rest of the genealogy, is transferred to the middle of the account of the flood, and so therefore also 4/26a which tells of the birth of Enosh. The formal opening of Gen. 5/1 ("This is the book . . .") is omitted as well as the same verse's reference to man's creation in God's image and likeness. The latter omission has also occurred in the Week of Creation.²⁶ The fact that God created man male and female, as recalled in Gen. 5/2, Jos. doubtless thinks not worth the effort to repeat, and the same can be said for the recollection of the blessing of God upon the two human sexes. But the last bit of Gen. 5/2 Jos. has already referred to in the naming of Adam when, however, he was forced to alter the embarrassing plural object (them) to the singular.²⁷

A strange little aside made in Gen. 4/26b, however, should be given some separate notice. "At that time men began to call upon the name of the Lord," has been interpreted variously, and Jos. makes no direct reference to it in the form in which it is found in the MT. That it indicates lapse into idolatry is a pejorative understanding of the line which it is well to recall in treating of what will soon follow.²⁸

But to return to the account of Seth's birth, Jos. says his narrative requires him to revert to Adam, the man first formed out of earth — a slight bow to Gen. 5/1. After Abel's slaughter and Cain's flight (an echo of the words of Adam's wife in giving Seth the name whose etymological

²⁶ For the analysis of Jos.' handling of the Sixth Day of creation cf. p. 45 of this investigation.

²⁷ Cf. pp. 47-48 of this investigation for the naming of Adam.

²⁸ And so *Targum Pseud. Jon.* (at Gen. 4/26): "And to Seth also was born a son and he called his name Enosh. That was the generation in whose days they began to err and to make themselves idols and surnamed their idols by the name of the Word of the Lord." *Genesis Rabbah* (23/6) clearly echoes this interpretation.

significance Jos. for once fails either to mention or notice), Adam longed for children and was seized with a passionate desire for a family. From an indication in *Genesis Rabbah* this statement would seem to be founded on the reference which Gen. 4/25 makes to Adam's carnal knowledge of his wife.²⁹ For the rest of what is said about Adam we move over now into Gen. 5/3-5. This desire seized Adam when he was 230 (Jos.' consistent alteration of the MT's 130) and he lived thereafter 700 years (an alteration of the MT's 800 to make the life-span of Adam actually the *same* as in Genesis 5). Among many other children (Gen. 5/4) was born Seth. The MT at Gen. 5/4, according to a literary device re-employed strictly for every member of the genealogical chain, relates that Adam had other sons and daughters. Of the daughters, as we have seen, there has already been mention.³⁰ Jos. says it would take too long to speak of Adam's descendants through these others, so that he will confine himself to the story of Seth's progeny. What follows now is a general and quite glowing picture of the persons whose actual names Jos. will give much later. He has replaced the bulk of the rather dull and repetitious genealogy of Genesis 5 with a more interest-catching piece of prose.

There is first a description of the character of Seth himself. Having been raised and then attaining the years of discretion, he cultivated virtue. He excelled therein, and his descendants imitated his ways. Seth, by clear indication in Gen. 4/25, is appointed by God to take the place of Abel whom Cain slew. *A priori*, it would seem, Seth should have the good press which he does in fact receive, not only from Jos. but from others as well.³¹

And what of the descendants themselves? Our author tells us that they inhabited the same country. They lived their lives without dissension, in prosperity, and without encountering any untoward incident up to the day of death. They also discovered the science of the heavenly bodies and their orderly array. The fixing of Seth and his descendants in one place may be a detail deriving from a tradition regarding the meaning of Seth's name which otherwise than in Jos. has not survived. The unalloyed blessedness of this family, however, is not a thing upon which all commentaries agree. Enoch is the central focus of the Sethites' knowledge

²⁹ The reference in question is found in *Genesis Rabbah* (23/5). The operative Hebrew word in Gen. 4/25 is *ôd* from which the afore-mentioned source makes the following conclusion: "Desire was added to his desire."

³⁰ Cf. p. 65 of this investigation and footnote 1 of this chapter.

³¹ A selection of sources will make the point. In *Pirke deRabbi Eliezer* (Ch. 22) we read: "Rabbi Simeon said: 'From Seth arose and were descended all the generation of the righteous.'" According to *Canticle Rabbah* (8/9/3) Seth is among the seven shepherds of Micah 5/4, the others being Adam, Methuselah, Abraham, Jacob, Moses and David. *Ben Sira* (49/16) ranks Seth alongside Shem and Enoch, while PHILO (*De Posteritate Caini*, 170-173) makes him a kind of first pattern of virtue begotten by the mind.

of astronomy and it is surely to the vast congeries of material related to the name of this man that part of Jos.' generalization has reference.³²

The Sethites, Jos. continues, did not want their discoveries to be lost to mankind in the two universal destructions (one by fire, the other by water), both of which Adam had predicted. Adam's general knowledge of the future, as well as his prediction of the double catastrophe which Jos. mentions, are not unique to our author.³³

Finally, we have the celebrated matter of the two pillars. Because of their aforementioned fear, the Sethites erected two pillars, one brick and the other stone. Their discoveries were inscribed thereon, so that if the brick one perished in the predicted deluge, the other would survive, not merely to teach men what was written thereon but also to inform them that the other pillar had in fact existed. The surviving pillar still (in Jos.' day) stands in the land of "Seiris." The same general story is given in other sources, but the final comment appended by Jos. and seemingly meant to make all of what he has said into serious history, makes one seriously wonder whether this portion of his work was not composed too rapidly or whether he himself was a bit over-credulous for a writer who pretends to such accurate contemporary information.

This section of the *JA* (I/70-71) has been quite thoroughly worked over by others and one need only give a summary of conclusions previously arrived at.³⁴ The four principal sources of the parallel traditions regarding the tablets, their content and their purpose are: (1) *The Book of Jubilees* (8/3); (2) *Vita Adae* (50/1); (3) *The Book of Jasher* (2/12-13); (4) *The Chronicles of Jerahmeel* (24/7; 26/16).³⁵ The fact that the tablets were

³² *Pirke deRabbi Eliezer* (Ch. 8) maintains that the intercalation of the years was performed by God and that the results were passed on to Adam who gave them to Enoch. The series continues through Noah and Shem to the Israelites. The picture here also, therefore, is of astronomy associated with Adam and with his descendants through Seth.

³³ Traditional lore about Adam's knowledge of the future might best be exemplified by this quote from *Abodah Zarah* (5a): "But did not Resh Lakish (himself) say, 'What is the meaning of the verse *This is the book of the generations of Adam*? Did Adam have a book?' What it implies is that the Holy One, blessed be He, showed to Adam every (coming) generation with its expositors, every generation with its sages, every generation with its leaders, etc." For other references cf. S. RAPPAPORT, *op. cit.*, footnote 45, pp. 88-89. That Adam predicted a future calamity is the tradition of the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* (cf. footnote 35, below), the *Testament of Adam* (Frag. II, paragraph 3), and the *Book of Adam and Eve* (Ch. 8). In the *Vita Adae* (49/1-3), Eve predicts a coming calamity but says that this knowledge came not from Adam but from the archangel Michael.

³⁴ Cf. S. RAPPAPORT, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9 & footnotes 47-52, pp. 89-93. This investigation attempts only the very essential summation of how Jos. is or is not related to the other sources which contain the tradition of the two pillars.

³⁵ For the sake of convenience, these quotations had best be given in full: —*Book of Jubilees* (8/3-4): "And he [Kainam] found a writing which former generations had carved on the rock, and he read what was thereon, and he transcribed it and sinned owing to it; for it contained the teaching of the Watchers in accordance with which they used to observe the omens of the sun and moon and stars in all the signs of heaven. And he wrote it down and said nothing regarding it; for he

produced to preserve records in the wake of a future catastrophe is a common theme in sources (2) through (4). Astronomical information is referred to only in (1), where, it should be noted, only *one* inscription is in question — the one discovered written on rock, and *after* the flood. The two *types* of pillar appear only in (2) and (4) — (3) gives a plurality of tablets (no specific number mentioned) but they are of stone. In the matter of the purpose of the two types of pillar, Jos. follows the less intelligent tradition recorded in (4), and not the more reasonable one of (2). Only in (4) is the coming catastrophe attributed to a knowledge had from Adam. Who derived what from whom, and how, are questions that are still open to speculation.

But alas for the Sethites! According to our author they continued to believe in God as Lord of the universe and in everything to take virtue as their guide, but in time they abandoned the customs of their fathers for a life of depravity. Again the question arises: what is meant by the seventh generation? It would be a pointless speculation apart from at least one piece of information garnered from another source. The *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* (24/11) have the same reference to corruption after a period of seven generations of righteousness.³⁶ This is, however, linked to the death of Adam. After that event, Sethites began to intermarry with Cainites. Now, in both Jos. and the MT, Adam lived for 930 years, and, according to the MT but not Jos., this spanned a time in which at least seven of the Sethites came to be. From the information to be gained

was afraid to speak to Noah about it lest he should be angry with him on account of it."

—*Vita Adae* (50/1-2): "But hearken unto me [Eve], my children. Make ye tables of stone and others of clay, and write on them all my life and your father's, (all) that ye have heard and seen from us. If by water the Lord judge our race, the tables of clay will be dissolved and the tables of stone will remain; but if by fire, the tables of stone will be broken up and the tables of clay will be baked (hard)."

—*Book of Jashar* (2/12-13): "And Cainan knew by his wisdom that God would destroy the sons of men for having sinned upon earth, and that the Lord would in the latter days bring upon them the waters of the flood. And in those days Cainan wrote upon tablets of stone what was to take place in time to come and he put them in his treasures."

—*Chronicles of Jerahmeel* (24/7): "And it came to pass when he [Jubal] heard of the judgment which Adam prophesied concerning the two trials to come upon his descendants by the flood, the dispersion and fire, he wrote down the science of music upon two pillars, one of white marble and the other of brick, so that if one would melt and crumble away on account of the water, the other would be saved."

—*Ibid.* (26/16): "And it came to pass when Jubal heard the prophecy of Adam concerning the two judgments about to come upon the world by means of the flood, the dispersion and fire, that he wrote down the science of music upon two pillars, one of fine white marble and the other of brick so that in the event of the one melting and being destroyed by the waters, the other would be saved."

³⁶ "During the whole lifetime of Adam the sons of Seth had not intermarried with the seed of Cain, but when Adam died they intermarried. The sons of Seth dwelt in the mountains by the Garden of Eden while Cain dwelt in the fields of Damascus where Abel was killed. For seven generations the descendants of Seth kept righteous, but thenceforward they became wicked. It was for this reason that God repented that He had made man."

from the MT, we derive the fact that only Lamech produced offspring after Adam's death. Therefore, Methuselah would constitute the seventh and last of the righteous generations because Lamech would be the first to be guilty of exogamy. This counting of generations includes Shem, but not Adam. If Jos. and the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* share the same tradition, this may clarify what Jos. has in mind.

The depravity of the Sethites is now described by Jos. Due honours to God and justice toward men were no longer their concerns. Their zeal for vice was twice what it had been for virtue. The enmity of God was the consequence. As a cause of all this, Jos. introduces the matter obtained from Gen. 6/1-4. For many angels of God, he says, now consorted with women and begat overbearing sons disdainful of every virtue by having confidence in their own strength, and the deeds ascribed them by tradition resemble the audacity told by the Greeks of the Giants. The "angels of God" and the "Giants" reflect the twist the LXX gives this same passage.³⁷ If Jos. does have at hand or in mind the tradition recorded in the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* regarding intermarriage with the Cainites as a cause of the Sethites' degeneration, the introduction of these angel-offspring into their midst as a cause of that same degeneration might explain Jos.' remark that the Sethite zeal for vice was now *twice* as great as it had been for virtue.³⁸

Jos., without further preliminary or any indication of his identity, now brings Noah on the scene. Noah was, he says, indignant at their conduct and was displeased with their counsels, and urged them to a better frame of mind and to emendation of their ways. Who the objects of this preaching are is not made very precise. Since this comes directly after his mention of the angel-offspring it is natural to take it as applying only to them. Certainly they did not constitute the entirety of the generation whose majority is about to be destroyed. Other interpreters make clear, however, the fact that Jos., by the collocation of his material, has made slightly vague: Noah warned his contemporaries generally, and without restriction to the angel-offspring. This warning as portrayed in other sources was actual preaching, as Jos. has it, or it was the drawn out length of time itself during which the ark was constructed. The motive sometimes assigned to this is not the good character of Noah, but the inspiration of God Who does not wish men to perish unwarned.³⁹

³⁷ For the more usual *huiioi tou theou* of Gen. 6/2, some LXX copies do read *aggeloi tou theou*. In Gen. 6/4, *gigantes* as translating *npilim* is standard.

³⁸ That is to say, Jos. might thus be accounting for the tradition which had the corruption of the Sethites take place from two sources: the Cainites and the angel-offspring.

³⁹ Noah's rebuking of his contemporaries appears in *Sanhedrin* (108a & b), the preacher's righteousness being the cause in the first of these contexts. *Kohelet Rabbah* (9/15/1) also deals with Noah's preaching and with the personal virtue which prompted it. The *Book of Jashar* (5/9-10) has Noah sharing his task with Methuselah (cf. *infra*). The "silent sermon" of Noah's labours on the ark over a long period of time is the

Those Noah warned, says Jos., were far from yielding and were completely enslaved to sinful pleasure, and when Noah saw this he feared they would murder him so he left the country with his wife, his sons and his daughters-in-law. The sinful pleasures of the generation of the flood are given constant and detailed consideration by many another source, and the fact that Noah was not looked kindly upon by his contemporaries is also the picture projected by others.⁴⁰ S. Rappaport has remarked, however, that his leaving the country is not a theme which he could discover in rabbinic tradition, and I have not been able to better his attempt.⁴¹ It strikes me as possible, however, that we are dealing here with a tradition, invented or borrowed by Jos., which places the emphasis not on Noah's departure but on his removing of his family from where they were. The phrase of the MT (Gen. 6/8), "And Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord," contains the ordinary verb for "find" (*māṣaʔ*) which, without too great a stretch of the consonantal text, could be taken as the hiphʿil of *YṢʔ*, and the *ḥēn* (grace) read as *-ḥēn* (-them). This is at least worth suggesting in the vacuum caused by the absence of any other explanation.

We are now about to enter the flood narrative proper. In the MT this extends from Gen. 6/5 through 8/19. Jos. reshapes this passage to a certain extent, and also abbreviates it by editing out what would appear to be mere repetitious phrases. His general treatment comprises a version building upon Gen. 6/5 through 7/11, at which point, constructing it around Gen. 7/11, he gives at long last the chronological genealogy of Genesis 5. The rest of the story (Gen. 7/12 through 8/19) is then given. There seems to be no overt reason for this particular way of handling the flood account other than stylistic seamlessness. The matter taken from or based upon Genesis 5 is scarcely de-emphasized thereby and, in a way, is made even more impressive.

The development of the action as described in Genesis is as follows: (1) the divine determination to destroy all flesh owing to its corruption (Gen. 6/5-12, but adumbrated, at least for Jos., also in 6/3); (2) the preparations to save Noah, his family and the animals (Gen. 6/13 - 7/9) consisting of two divine instructions (6/13-21 and 7/1-4), Noah's generally stated obedient response to each (6/22 and 7/5), and a more detailed description of the second response (7/6-9, which includes a notice of Noah's age in

theme of *Genesis Rabbah* (30/7) and *Pirke deRabbi Eliezer* (Ch. 23). It is the *Book of Jashar* (5/6-8, 11) which gives directly to God the credit for Noah's interest in converting his contemporaries.

⁴⁰ That Noah was "pursued" by his generation is the picture given us in *Leviticus Rabbah* (27/5) and *Kohelet Rabbah* (3/15). *Genesis Rabbah* (32/8) says that Noah entered the ark during the day (Gen. 7/13) and with the challenge to his generation: "Let him who objects speak out" for had he entered by night his contemporaries would have said that they did not know what he was doing but had they known they would not have permitted him to enter.

⁴¹ For RAPPAPORT's statement, cf. *op. cit.*, p. 9.

7/6); (3) the coming of the flood (7/10-12); (4) the crisis period (7/13-24), which begins with a repetitive section on the entrance into the ark (7/13-16).

Jos.' methods in dealing with this material are interesting. In constructing this pre-flood segment of his version he will cover things that actually take him into section (4) of the Genesis order. This is how he does it.

A little text collecting begins the process. God loved Noah for his righteousness: gleanings from 6/8, 6/9b-c and 7/1b.

Next comes a bit of fusion: As for those men (the angel-offspring) he not only condemned them alone for their wickedness but resolved to destroy all mankind then existing, creating another race pure of vice and abridging their term of life from its former longevity to 120 years⁴² — an intermingling of 6/3 and 6/7, the animals in the latter text being unmentioned in order to harmonize with what will come.

Prolepsis now follows: God converted the dry land into a sea and so they were all obliterated and Noah alone was saved — the general theme of 7/18-23 which describes the actual ultimate result of the intention just mentioned.

We then have conversion of the two instructions of God into one single inspiration: For God put into Noah's mind a device and means of salvation — the fact and general content of the two instructions of 6/13-21 and 7/1-4.

Interpretation of one text through another is the method now as Noah gets to work on specifics: the generalization contained in 6/22 and 7/5 suffices for most of Noah's actual performance in the MT.

Random selectivity follows as Noah does things which are mentioned in either of the two instructions of Genesis: the ark (first instruction); its four storeys (!) and dimensions (first); embarkation with family (second, backed up by two other repetitions of the same event in 7/7-9 and 13-16); provisions (first); pairs of animals (first and second, backed up again by the above-mentioned repetitions); seven pairs of some (second); the ark's strong sides, its roof and purposes of all these (first?).

Prolepsis concludes: Thus Noah and his household were saved — again the forward-looking reference to the general idea of 7/18-23.

⁴² This portion of Jos. (*JA* I/75) links up with a later context (*JA* I/152; p. 118 of this investigation). For his statements in both contexts, however, Jos. is fusing two biblical themes: Gen. 6/3 and Deut. 34/7. The first biblical text is a portion of the matter we are dealing with at present and is interpreted by Jos. as meaning that henceforth human life would be shortened. As is clear from his later reference to this same idea (*JA* I/152), though he says nothing of it in the present context, the life span of Moses (120 years, from Deut. 34/7) is the controlling factor in the interpretation of Gen. 6/3. For further comment, cf. p. 118 of this investigation. As for the present context, Jos. seems simply to be doing what PHILO (*Quaest. in Gen.*, I/91) has already done: interpret Gen. 6/3 as indicating the fixing of a terminus to human life in general.

The above description of this first stage of Jos.' flood should make sufficiently clear his method of handling the Genesis account and the major changes introduced. It remains only to summarize the peculiarities of the ark itself as he describes it. Pitch, gopher wood, the rooms and the door in the side are not mentioned, and it has already been noted that the number of storeys has been increased. "Make a 'window' for the ark, and finish it a cubit above" (Gen. 6/16) is a much disputed line. Jos. mentions neither of these details, but it is to be wondered whether his "stout sides and roof" are based on this verse, following perhaps some suggestion given by the LXX.

With reference to the order of events in Genesis, we are at this point still at Gen. 7/5: (implied) embarkation. Jos. will deal with 7/6-10 by omitting the material (vv. 6 and 10) or by having already included its mention (the duplicate: 7/7-9). We are on the verge of the flood's coming, mentioned with its date in the first part of Gen. 7/11.

Around this first portion of Gen. 7/11 Jos. builds both the genealogy and the chronology of Genesis 5, and does it in this way. The genealogy is first accounted for by formally identifying Noah as the son of Lamech, whence the other names are run through in backward order all the way to, and including, Adam. The date of the flood is then given with some added comments about the actual month in question. And finally, in connection with the reckoning of the actual year from the creation in which the event took place, the whole chronology of Genesis 5 is rehearsed from the beginning once again. The genealogy of Noah quite matches Genesis and need not be dwelt upon at this point. We will pass on at once to Jos.' comments on the month in which the flood occurred and thence to its chronology.

Noah, says Jos., was 600 years old when the catastrophe occurred in the second month. This month Macedonians call Dios but Hebrews, according to the calendar they followed in Egypt, call Marsuan. Moses appointed Nisan, that is Xanthicus, as the first month for festivals because it was then that he brought the Hebrews out of Egypt. Nisan he made the first month of the year for everything related to divine worship, but the older was preserved with relation to mercantile and ordinary affairs. The day the flood began was the twenty-seventh of the said month.

The day of the month does not follow the MT but rather the LXX. As we shall see, Jos. follows the Greek version in more than one thing with respect to the enumerations about to be given. His aforementioned indication that Marsuan was considered the second month at one time is historically correct. That this system was in vogue specifically up to the time of Moses simply follows other traditions present in the MT (Exodus 12). But the compromise system of a civil and a religious year is an anachronism when attributed to Moses. Jos. is probably in fact working backward from a tradition which placed the flood in Marsuan and thereby implied

that the reckoning indicated in the MT supposed Tishri as the first month. That the flood took place in the late autumn is the tradition he is following — the extra information thrown into the version is not all that pertinent.⁴³

We are now told by our author that the flood took place 2262 years after the birth of Adam, the first man. Jos. says this date is recorded in books for it was the custom of that age to note with minute care the birth and death of the illustrious men.

The number 2262 is common to Jos. and the LXX, arrived at, as Jos. will later inform us specifically, by adding up those years only which indicate the year of the father's life in which the son was born. These are the years, of course, which are changed by Jos. and the LXX, so the total will obviously be different. Whether the changes were made for the sake of the total or for some other reason it is I think pointless to discuss. In order to change the total, not all the numbers in the series have been altered and one (Lamech's) has only been changed by the addition of six! Jos. differs from both the MT and the LXX only in the life-span of Lamech, making it 707 years against the MT's 777 and the LXX's 753.

The style of Jos.' presentation of both the genealogy and chronology of Genesis 5 is, in this context, purely functional. Names and numbers are the main thing, the only slight remark other than the bare essentials being his notation that Enoch returned to the divinity after 365 years and this is why there is no record of his death in the chronicles. The introduction which opens Genesis 5, together with the remarks it has on Adam, the repetitive formulae, and the reason for Noah's receiving his name — some of which elements Jos. has however taken into account elsewhere — are all here by-passed. The chronology of Jos. is distinct only in two small details: he gives but two of the three sets of numbers found in Genesis, and he often paraphrases "life-span" as "rulership" or some equivalent.

Having listed his numbers, Jos. says that adding them up results in the figure already mentioned as the date of the flood. To be sure his reader knows which figures he is referring to, he cautions that one should not examine the life-span of individuals, for these extend into the times of their sons and descendants, but should rather confine attention to the dates of birth. He will follow his own advice when dealing with the chronological genealogy of Gen. 11/10-26.

⁴³ One must not overlook the fact, however, that the question of what month *precisely* was meant by the MT's "second" month is part of the concern of other sources. *Targum Pseud. Jon.* (at Gen. 8/11) gives the interpretation Jos. follows. *Seder Olam Rabbah* (Ch. 4) mentions the two systems of reckoning and, in granting its adherence to the tradition Jos. follows regarding the dating of the flood, makes something like the kind of distinction which our author makes between a religious and a civil calendar.

(c)

Accompanying his action with some kind of external indication, God, says Jos., started the rainfall which lasted forty days. What kind of external sign was meant is not clear. The verb that Jos. uses is sometimes employed in contexts where weather signs are the topic, but this may be just our author's way of accounting for the week's warning that God gave Noah (Gen. 7/1-4) and which he does not otherwise mention.

The water is now said to have risen fifteen cubits above the earth's surface (the MT here being more exact in its use of "mountains") and so for that reason no more escaped because there was no refuge. There is in Jos.' remark, however, almost the echo of a recorded quibble over the height of the waters being *uniformly* fifteen cubits above the earth's surface.

Jos.' attempt to reconcile the various chronological indications in Genesis 7 and 8 are hopelessly inept. He is interested in only one of the periods of time indicated in the MT: that between the second month (when the flood began) and the seventh month (when the ark came to rest). In the MT this constitutes 150 days. Jos. says that after the rain stopped, for a period of 150 days the water scarcely began to sink (though "scarcely" — *molis* — would indicate some slight diminution), and this was so up to the seventh day of the seventh month, the water little by little subsiding as this seventh month drew to its close. What exactly Jos. is trying to do by including the seventh day of the seventh month and by being vague about the rest is pointless to argue. The fact that he fails to notice that he has added the forty days of the rainfall to the total number of days and hence could not have all this occurring in the seventh month at all is a bit surprising. The gradual subsidence of the water, however, is a point to be concluded from Gen 8/3-4, but the vagueness wherewith he treats the continuing subsidence after the seventh day gives no date for the event which he actually records: "Then the ark settled on a mountain top in Armenia." As already noted, the rest of the flood's basic chronology is not incorporated by Jos. into his version. Lacking also is all mention of what part God played in the flood's subsidence.

What happens now takes place within a time that is vaguely indicated as being just a bit more than two weeks, according to Jos.' reckoning. Noah has felt the ark settle on the mountain top (a fact not given in the MT), and at once opens the ark and sees a little land surrounding it. His hopes revive and he remains inside. It is in this fashion that Jos. disposes of the time gap between the touching down upon the mountain and the *appearance* of the mountain tops. Jos. then says Noah waited a few days — this time not disposing of, but rendering vague and implicitly reducing the forty days of the MT — and then let loose a raven, the waters having continued to sink in the meantime. Jos. in reality drops the raven from

its actual position in the MT, and puts it in the place of the first dove, the purpose of whose dispatch and eventual return are applied to the raven instead.

Jos.' second bird is sent after a week's time. It is a dove and returns bearing an olive branch and marks of clay. Noah thus knows, says our author, that the earth was delivered from the flood and, waiting another week, let out the animals. He and his family went forth as well, and he sacrificed to God and feasted with his household. All this takes us up to a point paralleling Gen. 8/20, for Jos. has excised from his version most of what falls between the return of the dove (Gen. 8/11) and the actual going forth from the ark (Gen. 8/18), retaining the week's waiting after the bird's return (while not dispatching another), and having Noah open the ark to view the surroundings (Gen. 8/13) at a much earlier stage of the narrative. Most obviously missing is the divine command to leave the ark.

With respect to the birds, what in fact is the picture given by the MT? It would *seem* to be: raven/dove/SPACE/dove/SPACE/dove. But, as commentators have pointed out, the first week of waiting is called "another" seven days, and the conclusion is probably correctly drawn that the MT does mean to indicate the presence of a three-week period. This is also the conclusion of *Seder Olam Rabbah* and is found in *Genesis Rabbah* as well.⁴⁴ Jos., however, has adhered to the apparent two-week pattern of the MT, combining the raven with the first dove's functions and dropping the last bird in the series completely. The clay marks on the dove very probably are derived from Berossus, but the olive branch, instead of the olive leaf, is at least echoed in the LXX.⁴⁵

Jos. now treats us to some information drawn from sources known to him and mentioned by name, all of which have the purpose of backing up the story he has just finished. The Armenians, he says, call the spot where the ark came to rest "Landing-place" (*topos apobatērios*), and they show its relics (*leipsana*) to this (Jos.) day. The remains of the ark and their survival to later times are spoken of elsewhere than in *JA*. Sennacherib is said to have found a plank from the ark, and one was used by Haman in constructing his gallows, but Jos. is able, as we shall see, to quote his source for much of what he has said in this regard.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Cf. *Seder Olam Rabbah* (Ch. 4) and *Genesis Rabbah* (33/6).

⁴⁵ The MT's "olive leaf" is translated by the LXX as *phyllon elaias karpbos*. Jos. writes, as already indicated, *thallon elaias*. Our author (improbably) could have written *thallon* by mistake for *phyllon*, but his choice of word may well have been dictated by the presence of *karpbos* in the LXX. BEROSUS' account of the Chaldaean flood has been preserved by ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR through SYNCCELLUS (cf. C. MUELLER (ed.), *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (5 vols.; Paris: 1848-83), II, 501).

⁴⁶ The story about Sennacherib is recorded in *Sanhedrin* (96a), and the fifth segment of *Midrash Abba Gorion* tells of Haman's gallows. For the second of these sources, cf. A. WUENSCH (tr.), *Aus Israels Lehrhallen* (5 vol.; Leipzig: 1908-10), II, 127.

The authors Jos. now mentions are treated of elsewhere,⁴⁷ and it will be necessary only to mention them and the general content of what is quoted from their works. Four are here listed: Berosus the Chaldaean (who is quoted), Hieronymus the Egyptian who is said by Jos. to be the author of the ancient history of Phoenicia, Mnaseas, and Nicolas of Damascus (who is also quoted from, according to Jos., his ninety-sixth book). Our author claims to know of many others who also mention the ark and its remains.

Berosus is reported as saying that a portion of the vessel still survives in Armenia, on the mountain of the Cordyaeans, and some carry off pieces of the bitumen (*asphaltos*) as talismans. Nicolas says there is a great mountain called Baris in Armenia above the country of Minyas, and upon it not only many refugees found safety during the Flood, but one man transported upon an ark grounded on the summit where relics of this ark's timber were long preserved. Nicolas ends by speculating that this man might well be the same one spoken of by Moses the Jewish legislator.

These various cited authorities must be taken note of for several reasons, but the most important of these is of course the possibility that Jos. uses their material in other contexts without citing them as his informants. A case of this has already occurred.⁴⁸ They do not seem to have provided him with the name whereby the Armenians were said to refer to the spot where the ark landed, but there is a hint of something in the above-paraphrased quotation from Nicolas which Jos. may have in mind when dealing with later material. Nicolas of Damascus would seem to be indicating that there were other survivors of the flood as *he* knew the story.⁴⁹

Jos. has already told us that Noah sacrificed upon leaving the ark. This of course is based on the same event as given in Gen. 8/20, but in the previous mention of sacrifice, Jos. added that it was joined to a feast — an element not contained in the MT. Now, however, in offering what appears to be a different sacrifice, Noah, says Jos., was motivated by the fear that the sentence of annihilation once passed on mankind would be repeated annually by inundation.⁵⁰ While performing the rite, Noah makes a prayer, not given in direct discourse, but owing much to the divine "meditation" given by the MT in Gen. 8/21-22.

⁴⁷ Cf. the Introduction to this investigation (pp. 22-24).

⁴⁸ The case in question is the detail from BEROSUS about the muddy feet of the birds, mediated through ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR and Syncellus. Cf. p. 87 of this investigation and footnote 45 of this chapter.

⁴⁹ As already indicated in the main body of this investigation, Nicolas seemed to think that more escaped the flood than just the one man who did so by floating about in an ark. Cf., however, p. 94 of this investigation where there is again treated the possibility that some traditions thought that people other than Noah and his family survived the deluge.

⁵⁰ Noah's fear that God intended to repeat the deluge periodically is reflected in a small section of *Midrash Tanhuma* ("Noah", 11) which is quoted by S. RAPPAPORT (*op. cit.*, p. 11).

The content of the prayer is told at length. God is asked: to restore the primitive order; to inflict no more universal destruction but, the wicked having been punished, to spare those who have survived owing to their rectitude. The last petition is embroidered upon a bit rhetorically: survival would be worse than the destruction they survived for those who, having learned of all that has happened, lived in continual fear of its recurrence. God is petitioned to accept the sacrifice and not visit the earth again with such wrath in order that the survivors might now industriously cultivate the earth, erect cities, live happily, lack none of the pre-deluge blessings, and live to a ripe old age like the men of old.

Thus is Noah made to ask specifically for what, in the MT, God is prepared to grant on His own initiative when He smells the pleasing odour of the sacrifice. Jos. is, however, following what commentators generally think is the obvious propitiatory character of the sacrifice offered in Gen. 8/20. The maintenance of the natural order and the over-all self-defeating character of universal punishment are the themes of the MT which Jos. dwells upon and develops. Someone, doubtless not Jos. himself, has meditated the divine "meditation" well enough to allow our author to adhere with remarkable closeness and clarity to the spirit of the text we have in the Hebrew. The mention of the future cultivation of the earth may well foreshadow Noah's own efforts in that direction, and the pre-deluge longevity will of course be a blessing which will not be denied him.

God is now said to have signified assent to Noah out of love for his righteousness — a theme brought in from an earlier context (Gen. 6 and 7, *passim*). The actual presence of God on this occasion is adumbrated by the verb (*epeneuen*), underscored by Jos.' allowing the divine response to break into direct discourse half-way through, and finally made clear by Jos.' noting the departure of God when His discourse to Noah is over.

God begins His response by a short clarification of His justice. Those who perished were not destroyed by God but incurred His punishment by their wickedness. It were an unreasonable course to create at all had He been determined to destroy. It was the outrages wherewith they treated His regard (*eusebeia*) for them and His goodness which constrained imposition of the penalty. The last curious remark begins the direct discourse in which the remainder of the speech is couched.

Gen. 9/1-17 falls into two parts. The first (1-7) is a declaration of the new order of things established after the flood; the second (8-17) is a somewhat repetitious echo of the themes already given in Gen. 8/21-22 and which have formed the content of Noah's prayer. However, the covenant theme and the covenant's sign are distinguishing features of this second part.

God now gives a more direct response to the prayer of Noah, incorporating elements from Gen. 9/8-17 which quite naturally chime in with the themes of the petition. Henceforth God will cease to exact punish-

ment with such wrathful indignation (the language here reflecting Gen. 8/21 more than 9/8-17). He will cease above all because of Noah's having asked it. If ever tempests of exceeding fury are sent, they are not to fear the violence of the rain since never again shall water overwhelm the earth (cf. Gen. 9/14-15).

The discourse now turns to the matter of Gen. 9/1-7. There is an exhortation to refrain from shedding of human blood (*sphagē anthrōpinē*), to remain pure of murder (*phonos*), and to punish all who are guilty of such crimes (Gen. 9/5-6). All other living things they may use according to their desires and appetites, for God has made them lords of all including creatures of land, sea and air; yet without the blood, for therein is the soul (Gen. 9/2-4).

Finally we return to Gen. 9/8-17 for the inclusion of the sign of the covenant. God will manifest the truce (*paula*) with them by displaying his bow (*toxeia*).

God has now finished what Jos. has Him say, but before telling us that God left Noah, our author explains to his readers what God meant when he said His "bow". He meant, says Jos., the rainbow which, in those countries, was believed to be *God's* bow. Thus does Jos. call attention to his awareness of the wide and varied function which the natural phenomenon of the rainbow possesses in the mythologies of other peoples.⁵¹ This awareness is an important item to keep in mind in reckoning the rather conservative character of Jos.' version in *not* citing this kind of parallel as often as he certainly could have.

The element missing in the response of God to Noah is the command to increase and multiply. Jos. also avoids the function of the bow as a reminder to God, perhaps considering this a bit crude. But, on the whole, the eminently rational character of the Deity is brought out in His direct communication with Noah. The possible interpretation of the MT that God could very well have had in mind just what Jos. made Noah afraid of and was turned from it precisely because of the sacrifice performed in Gen. 8/20 is one that Jos. seems to have in mind by his so deliberate suppression of such a possibility. God is a reasonable God, and would not in *any* case have done what Noah feared, and Noah's action merely makes Him all the more willing to refrain therefrom. This is in fact a clear exegesis of the whole tenor of Gen. 8/20-22, excepting the one possibly significant change: the action which, performed by Noah, merely makes God a more willing benefactor is not the sacrifice of Genesis 8, but Noah's petition.

We now skip over the matter of Gen. 9/18-19 (the mention of Noah's

⁵¹ There is a hint of the tone of Jos.' presentation in Philo (*Quaest. in Gen.*, II/64). The Alexandrian speaks of the rainbow as being "God's bow" in a context where he is attempting to confute the explanation of the natural phenomenon as this explanation is given by an alien religion.

sons and of his grandson Canaan) as well as Gen. 9/20-27 (the story of Noah's vine). Noah's sons have not been mentioned by name at all by Jos. up to this point. He has confined himself to a general mention of their existence as among the other human occupants of the ark, in face of the MT's frequent reference to them by name beginning with Gen. 5/32 and continuing through the flood account. Their turn, however, will come. The vine-story will also be incorporated into a later context.

Noah's death notice is given by Jos. just as it is in the MT, our author merely adding that the rest of Noah's life was in fact passed happily. The age of the patriarch (950) is the occasion of a short discourse, however, on the longevity of the ancients. Authorities are even cited, but none quoted. The reader, says Jos., must not think this longevity a fallacy, and he gives the following reasons: these ancients were beloved by God and creatures; their diet promoted long life; from these reasons alone it was natural they lived so long; God, however, wished that they have long life because of their merits; He also wished this so that they could become knowledgeable in astronomy, which is not really gained by anyone living less than 600 years.

The benignity of animals and the ideal diet, though made the basis for a rational explanation in this context, are themselves bits of interpretative tradition with respect to life among the ante-deluvians. Longevity as a blessing and reward for merit is a notion easily gotten from the Bible itself but, quite naturally, it is the subject of much commentary and haggadic concern. Astronomy, as has already been seen, was a science among the Sethites. It is the reference to the 600-year period, however, which is curious and may, as has been suggested by others, been derived, directly or indirectly, from Berosus whose reckoning of world history in cycles of 60, 600, and 6000 years may be what Jos. has in mind.⁵²

In listing the names of his authorities, Jos. divides them into two groups. The first group, he says, are historians, both Greeks and barbarians, who "attest" his words. Exactly how this attestation is to be understood or to what extent it is to be applied to each of the authors mentioned, is left vague enough. The authors in question are: Manetho the annalist of the Egyptians, Berosus the compiler of Chaldaean traditions, Mochus, Hestiaeus, Hieronymus the Egyptian — the last three being "authors of Phoenician histories." The second group, says Jos., report that the ancients lived a thousand years: Hesiod, Hecataeus, Hellanicus, Acusilaus, Ephorus and Nicolas.

The mere listing of these authorities need not detain us long. But the concluding remark of Jos. in ending this short apology for the longevity of the patriarchs must not be passed over. "But on these matters," he

⁵² For the unacknowledged quote from BEROSUS, cf. C. MUELLER (ed.), *op. cit.*, II, 498.

says, "let everyone decide according to his fancy." The scepticism reflected by the statement was doubtless fashionable among professed historians and antiquarians of Jos.' period. In fact, the very sentiment is of frequent occurrence in the very author who was the model for the *JA*, Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Its use by Jos., however, does not match too well with a fundamentalist view of his principal source. Is our author overtly, but rather insincerely, following the fashion and merely pretending to a type of objectivity which was really not to his taste (or ability)? Is there any real clue here to his own personal outlook on the use and interpretation of a received text?

If Jos. could be presumed to be at all consistent even in his treatment of the Genesis account in the *JA* — a presumption it would be dangerous to make — some answer to these questions might be hoped for. But in closing this account of Jos.' treatment both of the generations after Adam and of the flood which was the culmination of this epoch, we might reflect on how this remark sounds in the light of the material which has gone before. To choose as one's fancy dictates may well describe the principle at work, for instance, in the complex presentation, brief as it is, of the Cainite Lamech, in the little synthesis of the history of the Sethites, or in the composition of the account of Noah's preparation for the flood. I do not think it altogether probable that Jos. is the originator of even most of the nuances which do not clearly pre-exist the time of the composition of the *JA*. What he may very well have sincerely in mind, however, is the presentation of clear and rational facts or events, fitted into and eventually comprising a clear and rational unity. Choice of the specific interpretative tradition for any given unit within this unity would be governed by these two principles, and who is to say to what degree Jos. altered even what he received in order to achieve his purpose? He could be, in effect, the inventor of a most original type of unoriginality.

But, leaving everyone to decide this according to their fancy, we, along with God, now take leave of Noah, *our* purpose being to examine what is undoubtedly Jos.' best dressed show-case of material.

CHAPTER 3: Migrations

It is a well known though perhaps not sufficiently appreciated fact that the actual narrative of Genesis contains little of any "story" at all between Noah's death notice (Gen. 9/29) and the death of Haran (Gen. 11/28). The only exception to this is the "City-Tower Story" of Gen. 11/1-9. There are also two tantalizing bits of information included in Genesis 10: the person and achievements of Nimrod (8-12) and the "division of the earth" which occasioned the naming of Peleg (25). It must not be overlooked, however, that Genesis 10 suffers from the same deficiency as the Cainites of Genesis 4: there is no chronology connected thereto saving whatever relation can be made to, or inferred from, the Shemite-Pelegite chronological genealogy of Gen. 11/10-26.

Necessity is the mother of invention of all types, so that it is not surprising in itself to see various traditions at work in building up this section of Genesis into an historical setting into which the genealogical and chronological materials can be placed. In this section of his version of Genesis (*JA* I/109-160) Jos. manages to construct such a scheme. With respect to the order found in Genesis this construction has involved transferring the building of the tower to a position ahead of Genesis 10 (the Table of Nations) and associating with this event the name and character of Nimrod. Jos. does not make it clear, however, that he considers this episode actually to have taken place in the generation of Peleg.

We may expect the citation of more external sources, according to the pattern already seen in use. The elaboration of the Table of Nations is another feature of this section. Missing from the tower story, however, is any mention of the concomitant building of a city. The names of Abraham and Sarah will begin to appear toward the end of this chapter, and these occur in Jos. always as "Habramos" and "Sarra", for he omits any mention of the eventual change of the names of these two persons. I have adopted the convention of using the RSV equivalents of both names as they occur after Genesis 17.

We will examine all this material in three divisions. The first includes the post-deluge history into which Jos. incorporates Nimrod and the building of the tower. Jos.' version of the Table of Nations will be dealt with next, and finally the early history of Abraham.

(a)

Jos.' development of his story at this point passes through six stages: (1) the descent of Noah's three sons (Shem, Japhet and Ham — note the order) from the mountains to the plains; (2) the emergence of a rebellious attitude toward God; (3) the part which Nimrod played in the social and religious life of the group; (4) the building of the tower; (5) the external witnesses to be cited for both the existence of the tower and the confusion of tongues; and (6) Jos.' conclusion to his story which also forms his introduction to the Table of Nations (Genesis 10). All the parts are woven into a tightly connected literary unit.

According to the first stage in the narrative, the three sons of Noah who were born one hundred years before the flood (Gen. 5/32) were named Shem, Japhet and Ham — the last being an allusion to Ham's being referred to as the *youngest* son in Gen. 9/24 in the context of the story of Noah's vine.¹ These three were the first to descend from the mountains to the plains, persuading to follow their example the others who feared the plains by reason of the flood.

The leadership of the three sons of Noah may well be founded on the verse of the MT: "These three were the sons of Noah; and from these the whole earth was scattered" (Gen. 9/19). This goes into the LXX as: "...and from (or by) them they (*sic*) dispersed over the whole earth." The identity of the group which the three persuaded to go with them is easily supposed to be their own offspring. Noah, in his prayer, had made reference to those who, hearing of the flood, would naturally fear its recurrence. It is not totally impossible, however, that we have here a tell-tale remnant of another tradition wherein others besides those in the ark survived.

The reason for the fear of the plain is doubtless the logical one that flat places are more dangerous than mountains during an inundation. Haggadic tradition knows of other reasons why fear should be so associated.²

The second episode of the story tells us that they first settled on the plain of "Senaar." This of course relates this portion of the tale directly to the beginning of the tower story of Gen. 11/2. That particular verse plays a somewhat large part in the development of the various details

¹ For a return to the question of why Ham is dealt with as Noah's youngest son, cf. pp. 112-113 of this investigation where Jos.' handling of Gen. 9/20-27 is the point at issue.

² *Pirke deRabbi Eliezer* (Ch. 11) reflects Jos.' view that there was a real fear of another flood among the survivors of the deluge: "The second king was Nimrod, who ruled from one end of the world to the other, for all the creatures were dwelling in one place and they were afraid of the waters of the flood, etc." According to the Talmud (*Zebahim*, 113b; *Shabbath*, 113b) the plain on which Babylon was situated was the place where the bodies of those dying in the deluge were deposited — motive enough for avoiding the locality.

Jos. is incorporating. The MT gives: "And it came to pass as they journeyed from the east (*mikkedem*) that they found a plain in the land of Shinar" That the east contains hill country is the testimony of a bit of text from Gen. 10/30, so that this verse gives warrant for the interpretation already made part of our story: that the group migrated from the hills to the plain. But Targumic tradition handles this same verse in a way which makes *mikkedem* into *bkadmêtâ*³ — "in the beginning." Jos. has thus shown he knows of the tradition which the Targum contains.

The migrants after settling down begin to grow in number and God bids them colonize, the reason given being that they might not quarrel but cultivate the earth and enjoy its fruits. Jos. says that their blindness made them ignore this command with the result that they experienced calamities which made them sensible of their error. The mention of these calamities is a bit of literary prolepsis, for we do not arrive at them until a further stage of the narrative. Jos. now says that, flourishing as they were with a youthful population, they were a *second* time commanded to colonize and they again refused, attributing their blessings to their own might and not to God's benevolence.

The several themes emphasized in all this are clear. God *favours* the breaking up of the original group of migrants, and the purpose of decentralization moves in two directions: peace and agriculture. Moreover, God not only communicates this desire for the group's division, but communicates it twice over. Their *amathia* caused them to ignore the first command; their godless self-confidence occasioned disobeying the second. Between the two commands, a large youthful population is produced.

The setting in the MT which this replaces is Gen. 11/3-4 which is all that text really has to say of the activities of the group once it settled on the plain of Shinar. It is, of course, tempting to draw from the two above-mentioned verses, in conjunction with God's remark in Gen. 11/6 regarding the group's power and self-sufficiency, a number of the basic details of Jos.' picture.⁴ Unfortunately, the evidence for the existence of traditions likely to have been constructed upon these three verses and, individually or in combination, leading in the direction Jos. has taken is next to non-existent. It would be good if we could see in the last part

³ Cf. *Targum Onkelos* (at Gen. 11/2): "And it was in their migrations at the beginning that they found a plain in the land of Babel and dwelt there." Neither *Targum Neofiti* nor *Targum Pseud. Jon.* agrees, however.

⁴ These remarks, and what follows, are best clarified by having the MT verses at hand: (11/3) And they said to one another, "Come, let us make bricks and burn them thoroughly". And they had brick for stone and bitumen for mortar. (11/4) Then they said, "Come, let us build ourselves a city, and a tower with its top in the heavens, and let us make a name for ourselves lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth". (11/6) And the Lord said, "Behold they are one people and they have all one language; and this is only the beginning of what they will do; and nothing that they propose to do will now be impossible for them".

of Gen. 11/4 a reference to free choice — let us do this *instead of* that.⁵ But even if this were certain, the fact that it was God who had proposed the other choice (i.e., the scattering abroad) could only be inferred from the favour in which God holds dispersion, which in itself is an inference from the fact that dispersion is what He eventually and intentionally effects. In the light of this purely hypothetical conclusion, one might then be led to see Gen. 11/3-4 as two separate responses on the part of the settlers to a divine command which is only hinted at in their second response. Other details of Jos.' picture could be inserted into such a conjecture, but we have already gone too far along the lines of pure speculation.

One or two things, however, are clear. By the time we reach the point of the second rejection we are, according to the fuller picture which only the whole of Jos.' presentation can afford, at the very point in the history of the settlers where the building of the tower takes place. Furthermore, the extraordinary multiplication of the population before, or in, the generation of the tongue-confusion, as well as the shift in attribution of their prosperity from God to themselves, are elements of the story which are not confined to Jos.⁶

The third stage of events brings Nimrod into the picture. His connection with both Shinar and Babel in another context (Gen. 10/10) would make his association with the whole of Gen. 11/1-9 quite natural for anyone acquainted with both. Jos. introduces him by the addition of a dimension to the already described rebelliousness of the settlers on the occasion of the refusal of God's second command: besides being disobedient they became suspicious that God was plotting against them by urging a migration which would divide them and so expose them to attack. Nimrod is then said to be responsible for this insolent contempt. I think it important

⁵ When urging their fellows to build, the tower-builders of the MT are made to say: "...and let us make a name for ourselves lest (Hebrew: *pen*) we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth". Instead of "lest" the LXX has "before" (Greek: *pro* + infinitive). S. RAPPAPORT (*op. cit.*, footnote 67, p. 97) mentions the critical opinion (with which he disagrees) that the LXX text had suggested to Jos. the inclusion in his narrative of the divine commands to colonize — as though in the LXX the dispersion were something the builders were half anticipating. The suggestion regarding "instead of" which is made in the main body of the investigation does not indicate either that it is thought that the MT can be interpreted this way or that such is the meaning given in ancient versions and/or interpretations. What is meant is that *if* the end of Gen. 11/4 could be read that way (and it has been read in one way of which we know which differs from the MT), such a reading would more readily suggest the pre-existence of some strong inclination (perhaps issuing from the memory of a divine command) to do otherwise.

⁶ That the survivors of the deluge greatly increased in number is the tradition of *Pirke deRabbi Eliezer* (Ch. 24): "Rabbi Eliezer said: 'They begat their sons and increased and multiplied like a great reptile, six at each birth, etc.'" The shift in attitude of the tower-builders respecting success finds a statement in *Numbers Rabbah* (9/24): "The people who made the Tower of Babel only grew haughty before the Omnipotent on account of the favours which He lavished upon them, etc."

to stress the connection which Jos. makes between Nimrod and the attribution of evil intent to God, for though he will make this man the source of their insolent self-reliance as well, the conception of God as malign goes beyond whatever basis the MT can afford for the overall attitude of the tower-builders.

We now receive a thumb-nail sketch of Nimrod himself. He was, says Jos., the grandson of Ham who was the son of Noah. He was an audacious man (*tolmēros*) of distinguished might (*kata cheira gennaios*). So far also the MT (Gen. 10/8-9), in a general way.⁷ He was the author of their attitude of self-sufficient independence which attributed to their own valour and not to God the prosperity they enjoyed. This detachment from God he deliberately effected precisely by attaching the group little by little to his own tyrannous control. Nimrod threatened revenge on God if He wished to send another flood, for he would build a tower higher than the water could reach and so avenge the destruction of their ancestors.

The themes dwelt on here are found elsewhere: the powerful position of a jealous tyrant; the forthright instigator of alienation from God; the instigator of the building project, and, through this same project, a challenger to the divine sovereignty. This is all true and deserves its proper notice.⁸

But what seems important to me with respect to all this is the divorce Jos. makes between the actual construction (for whatever motive) of the tower, and the initially noted delinquencies of the group as a whole. Their initial refusal to colonize is the result of blindness, and Nimrod would not seem to be connected with this at all. The second refusal, behind which stands the figure of Nimrod, is deliberate disobedience coupled with assignation of malign intention to the Divinity, withdrawal from respect for the divine origin of their prosperity lying at the root of their rebellion and being specifically fomented by Nimrod himself. Nimrod's motive would seem to have nothing to do with the motive for the dual building project given at the end of Gen. 11/4.

In order to avoid prolonging the analysis of this passage unduly, let me say bluntly that I believe the handling of the Nimrod figure by Jos. does give some substance to the above-mentioned speculations regarding Gen. 11/3-4 as the basis for an otherwise unsubstantiated tradition which

⁷ Gen. 10/8-9: "Cush became the father of Nimrod; he was the first on earth to be a *mighty man*. He was a *mighty hunter* before the Lord; therefore it is said, 'Like Nimrod a mighty hunter before the Lord.'"

⁸ We find Nimrod reigning splendidly and as the jealous tyrant in a lengthy section of the *Book of Jashar* (Chapters 8 - 9), and a penchant of Nimrod's to divorce men from the allegiance to others and attach them to himself comes to the fore clearly in the *Fragment Targum* (at Gen. 10/9). The tradition that Nimrod led the whole world in rebellion against God is extant in *Erubin* (53a) and *Hagigah* (13a). Leader of the tower project in *Pirke deRabbi Eliezer* (Ch. 24), he becomes the special adversary of God precisely thereby in Philo (*Quaest. in Gen.*, II/82) and in *Sanhedrin* (109a).

Jos. is either inventing or following regarding the refusals to colonize. The building of the tower is the outward manifestation of an attitude of godless self-sufficiency, to which God reacts and with which Nimrod is directly connected. It is also the result of two possible interpretations of the last portion of Gen. 11/3-4: (1) "...lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth"; (2) "...before our being scattered, etc." If both were in fact current, the second might suggest the existence of a divine command, as already noted.⁹ In the light of such an interpretation, the first could be made to put the divine intention, derived from the other version, in a bad light. A harmonization of the two versions might logically be disobedience coupled with suspicion of malign motives. To this harmonization it would not be difficult to couple the root motive of self-sufficiency (adumbrated in Gen. 11/6), and to this motive, in turn, the doughty figure of Nimrod who has his own scores to settle.

We now enter the fourth phase of the account: the building of the tower. The reaction to Nimrod's advice, says Jos., is an eager response, because the people think it slavery to submit to the ordinances of God. The position within the narrative where this statement is found refers naturally to the future possible ordinance of a flood — or so it would seem. The fact that such an ordinance would be in fact harmful raises again the hint of malignancy in God.

They devoted themselves to the building of the tower with untiring ardour and no slackening, according to our author. The many hands at work made it rise quickly. Its thickness dwarfed its apparent height, and it was made from baked bricks cemented with bitumen to prevent them from being washed away.

The extraordinary thickness of the tower, as well as the speed in its building are the two items here which cannot easily be drawn from the MT itself. The use of bitumen by Noah (Gen. 6/14), however, forms a useful precedent at this juncture. The tower's height is emphasized by many versions of the story, but its great thickness is a tradition also known to the *Book of Jubilees*.¹⁰ Opinions seem to have differed about the speed with which the tower rose, but Jos. is not alone in thinking the work progressed quickly, rationalizing it, perhaps on his own, through reference to the multitude employed in the task.¹¹ It is hard to say whether the diligence of the builders is relayed by our author as an

⁹ Cf. footnote 5 of the present chapter regarding the interpretations of the last part of Gen. 11/4.

¹⁰ We have a traditional record of the enormous height of the tower in the *Book of Jashar* (9/27): it took a year to climb the edifice. The reference to the tower's thickness in the *Book of Jubilees* occurs at 10/21.

¹¹ It is probably more accurate to say that according to other sources work progressed on the tower *without respite*. Its dimensions and the events attending its building are well outlined (and documented) by L. GINZBERG, *The Legends of the Jews* (7 vols.; Philadelphia: 1909-1938), I, 179-181.

independent gloss or as an element related to the speed of progress either as a conclusion or as a fact from which the speed itself was concluded.

God now decides, according to Jos., not to destroy utterly the builders for the (somewhat curious) reason that even the destruction of the first victims had not taught their descendants wisdom. By this Jos. must mean either that complete destruction of this group would not teach wisdom to future generations, or that God was being lenient in not *completely* destroying the builders because their inability to learn even from the harshest treatment of others made them somewhat less culpable. Jos. would seem to mean the second by recording God as viewing their *mad* enterprise (*houtōs memēnotas autous*) before coming to his decision. Does he also imply that *some* destruction was in fact meted out?

Jos. now merely recounts the content of Gen. 11/8-9: God created discord among them by making them speak different languages so that they could not understand each other. The Hebrews call confusion *babel* and this is why the place where the tower was built is now called Babylon in commemoration of the confusion of the primitive speech once intelligible to all. One wonders whether Jos. is hinting that Hebrew was in fact that primitive speech.

As we have seen, Gen. 11/1-9, in conjunction with the Nimrod material from Gen. 10/8-12, has been made to yield an abundant harvest. The overt omissions from Gen. 11/1-9 are few. There is no mention of a city, God does not "come down" to view the work of the builders (Gen. 11/5) nor does He address Himself to an unidentified group of hearers to disclose His plans for dealing with the builders and His motives for doing so (Gen. 11/6-7). We are not told about the fact that there existed but one language at the time (Gen. 11/1) until the very end and after the confusion of tongues has taken place. We are not told, moreover, that the original speech had but few words.

The fifth stage of the tower story quotes two witnesses: the Sibyl and Hestiaeus. The Sibyl's thoughts are derived from the *Oracula Sibyllina* through Alexander Polyhistor (not mentioned here by Jos.) and relate the common language theme, the building of the tower by which men meant to mount to heaven, the overturning of the tower by winds sent by the gods, the confusion of tongues, and the origin of the name Babylon. Hestiaeus is made merely to testify to the fact that there *was* a plain called Senaar (i.e., Shinar) in Babylonia.

Worthy of note here in relation to the version of the story already completed by Jos. are the few details given by the Sibyl, and obviously known to Jos., which he does not include in his own version of things. The motive for building the tower (to use it to mount to heaven), the destruction of the tower, and the plurality of the authors of its destruction — all reflect traditions or aspects of the MT narrative which Jos.

has, at least overtly, chosen to by-pass though they are given in a passage he is citing for the authoritative weight he is presumably giving it.

The sixth and final phase of the tower story is now reached, and it also functions as a prelude for what will follow. From that hour, says Jos., their diversity of languages caused their dispersion. They founded colonies everywhere, each different *group* occupying the country they came upon and to which God led them. They peopled every continent (*ēpeiron*), in the interior and on the coast, while some crossed the sea in ships and settled in the islands.

Jos. obviously thinks that there was not a *complete* confusion of tongues, but only a partial one. Groups were allowed to remain whose individual members spoke a common language. The mode of migration is interesting, for the "and" disguises (intentionally?) the fact that there were two ways whereby they settled the lands they occupied: by chance, or by the direct intervention of God — something that will be important to remember when we come to the case of Abraham and his descendants. The generalization about the extent of the occupation is a summary of what is given in greater detail in the Table of Nations.

The section is concluded by what seems to be a little polemic against the Greeks on the part of our author. Of the nations, he says, some preserve the names given them by the founders, some have changed, still others have been modified so as to be made more intelligible to their neighbours. The Greeks are responsible for the change of name (presumably both complete and partial changes, that is) for when eventually they rose to power they appropriated the glories of the past by embellishing the nations with names they could understand, and imposing upon them forms of government — all as though these peoples were descended from themselves.

What Jos. actually means by the alteration, either by slight modification or by complete change, of the original names given the various nations of the world will be spelled out in great detail in his version of the Table of Nations, and the polemic against the Greeks will also continue throughout that same version. It is another work of Jos. (*Contra Apionem*) which gives much of the necessary background to this polemical attitude. This same attitude is undoubtedly responsible for the elaborate way in which he treats that segment of the historical traditions of his own people which now follows.

(b)

The Table of Nations which occupies the whole of Genesis 10 is divided into three parts, according to the descendants of Japheth, Ham and Shem. Jos. religiously preserves this order, but his general scheme separates parts one and two, and parts two and three by the interposition of two asides of his own: the first (appearing between the Japhethites and

Hamites) is a little composition which, in its own somewhat condescending way, continues his polemic against the Greeks;¹² the second is based on the account of Noah's viticulture and its consequences (transferred to this context from Gen. 9/20-27). There are, in all, five parts to this section of our author's version of Genesis.

The structure of Genesis 10 is highly formal. There is a general introduction (Gen. 10/1) and a general conclusion (Gen. 10/32), and each individual section has its own formulaic conclusion, only Shem's list being singled out for a separate introduction of its own (Gen. 10/21). How Jos. follows this structure with respect to the individual parts we shall see in examining each of them separately. He omits the general conclusion, however, and replaces the general introduction with a remark of his own. Noah's children, he says, had sons who were honoured by having their names conferred upon the nations by the first occupants of the several countries.¹³

The restriction to merely the *sons* of Japheth, Ham and Shem may indicate that Jos. is, for a while at least, following a source which does in fact do just that: the *Book of Jubilees*.¹⁴ According to all that has gone before, it could be logically assumed at this point that the seventy language groups dispersing from the tower each turned out to have a leader (descended from one of the three sons of Noah) after whom the group named itself and/or the country where it settled, for, according to the tower story of Jos., there were far more individuals present at the time of the dispersion than the relative handful mentioned in Genesis 10. Such a logical basis for leading into what follows is not adopted, however, and we are left wondering why these particular seventy should have been so honoured by what must have been their own language group.

According to Jos.' order of things, then, we begin with a description of the overall Japhethite territory. The Japhethites, he says, beginning by inhabiting the mountains of Taurus and Amanus, advanced in Asia up to the river Tanais (Don) and in Europe as far as Gadeira (Cadiz).

¹² Cf. what has just been said on p. 100 of this investigation. Up to this point, Jos. has mentioned the Greeks in several ways. He has them in mind when writing his history (JA I/5, 9); their names for things are mentioned (JA I/38 for Ganges; 39 for Nile; 73 for the giants); their historians are invoked (JA I/107); and finally there is Jos.' accusation that Greeks deliberately change ethnological and geographical designation for their own glorification (JA I/107).

¹³ Cf. JA I/122.

¹⁴ The *Book of Jubilees* treats much of the matter of Genesis 10 in five separate sections: first, the building of cities by Noah's sons in the context of which Noah's grandsons are first mentioned; then, the world is divided among Noah's sons (Shem, 8/12-21; Ham, 8/22-24; Japheth, 8/25-30); thirdly, there occurs a further subdivision among Noah's grandsons (Ham's children, 9/1; Shem's, 9/2-6; Japheth's, 9/7-13). This all happens, according to this source, *before* the confusion of tongues. After the said confusion, Canaan seizes Palestine (10/29-34) and Madai receives Media (10/35-36). We must return to this source's picture of things quite frequently during the following analysis.

As we have noted, this is a new addition to the information given in the MT, but it is not necessarily a novel tradition. The *Book of Jubilees*, twice over, adopts the format Jos. uses in describing the general territory occupied by the descendants of each of Noah's three sons, and, in both the passages describing the territory of the Japhethites, the Don and Cadiz figure as boundaries.¹⁵ Amanus is a kind of classic natural boundary and appears twice in Jos.' delineation of overall territorial boundaries (here and in connection with Ham). The name is not unknown to the author of the *Book of Jubilees*, where, however, it is not so much a boundary as a feature of the territory of Shem.¹⁶ Its connection with the Taurus Range is a geographical fact which has more the ring of Strabo than of Pseudo-epigraphic Literature.¹⁷

The list of the Japhethites now follows. In the MT this is quite brief. The sons, then two sets of grandsons, are named as proceeding from Japheth. The area covered only by Japheth's grandsons through Javan is mentioned,¹⁸ and the concluding formula closes the matter. After mentioning the *fact* that Japheth had seven sons, Jos. first names the area which was occupied by the whole clan, and then gives the list, including the MT's concluding formula twice: once at the end of the list of Japheth's sons, and once at the end of the whole passage. The little verse (Gen. 10/5) which indicates the territory occupied by the sons of Javan will, as we will see, be accounted for in its own fashion.

It is useless to attempt to speak of the material presented by Jos. without recourse to the use of some sort of synthetic representation, and such will be done for each of the three lists he gives. Respecting these tables a few conventions have been adopted which have been maintained throughout each of the three. The Greek form of the personal name which Jos. gives, together with the order in which he gives it, is represented in the left-hand column. A parenthesis to this name gives both its RSV equivalent and a number which indicates the order in which the name appears in the MT. The second column gives the Greek form of the *gens* supposedly derived from the individual and the third column the Greek

¹⁵ Cf. previous footnote. In the text of the *Book of Jubilees* Tina (the Don) is mentioned in connection with Japheth in 8/25, 8/28 and 9/8; Gadir (Cadiz) in 8/26 and 9/12. This source, however, mentions the Don in connection with Shem as often as it does in referring to Japheth (e.g., 8/12, 8/16, 9/2).

¹⁶ Cf. the *Book of Jubilees* (8/21 & 9/4).

¹⁷ The coupling of Taurus and Amanus by our author need stem from nothing but his knowledge of the geographical facts involved. However, it is very likely that Strabo's *Geography* played some part at least in Jos.' elaboration of Genesis 10 and it was thought appropriate to introduce this possibility at this juncture by recalling that the Greek geographer happens to describe the Taurus and Amanus ranges in terms of one another twice over: 11/12/1-2; 12/2/2.

¹⁸ There are commentators on Genesis who see in Gen. 10/5a a description of the territory of *all* the Japhethites. This investigation has opted for the opposing view: that this half a verse refers only to the territory of the sons of Javan (cf. J. SKINNER, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis* (Edinburgh: 1910), p. 200).

form of the name by which Jos. says either a place or a people is called at his time. A place-name is signalled by quotation marks. The names supposedly imposed by the Greeks are italicized. Two asterisks indicate that Jos. has something to add with respect to a given topic, and an arrow indicates that the "modern" name is given without reference to any intermediate form.

The Japhethites, then, are treated by Jos. thus:

Sons to Iaphthas (Japheth)

1. Gomaros (1. Gomer)	Gomareis	<i>Galatai</i>
2. Magōgēs (2. Magog)	Magōgai	<i>Skythai</i>
3. Iauanos (4. Javan)	—————→	"Iōnia" kai pantes Hellēnes
4. Mados (3. Madai)	Madaioi	<i>Mēdoi</i>
5. Theobēlos (5. Tubal)	Theobēloi	Ibēres
6. Meschos (6. Meshech)	Meschēnoi**	Kappadokes
7. Theirēs (7. Tiras)	Theirae	<i>Thraïkes</i>

Sons to Gomaros (Gomer)

8. Aschanaxēs (8. Ashkenaz)	Aschanaxoi	<i>Rēgines</i>
9. Riphathēs (9 Riphath)	Riphathaioi	Paphlagones
10. Thygramēs (10. Togarmah)	Thygramaioi	<i>Phryges</i>

Sons to Iauanos (Javan)

11. Halisas (11. Elishah)	Halisaioi	Aioleis
12. Tharsos (12. Tarshish)	Tharseis**	"Kilikia"
13. Chethimos (13. Kittim)	"Chethima"***	"Kypros"

The three "footnotes" (**) included in this list by Jos. all have the same function: to create a link between the original name of the group and the name of the people or place where they are to be found in his own day. This, of course, is but a device. The Meschēnoi are said to have left trace of their name in the city of Mazaca, the Tharseis in the city of Tarsus, thus connecting them both to the people and region with which he identifies them respectively. The holding of the island of "Chethima" by Chethimos is shown, says Jos., by the fact that "*Chethim*" is the way Hebrews refer to all islands and most maritime countries, and the identification of "Chethima" with Cyprus is shown by the fact that the Cypriote city of Kition, even in its Hellenized form, preserves a resemblance to the name of Chethimos.

The fact that Jos.' list is one short of that given by all other sources which bother to enumerate Japheth's grandsons should be obvious. Dodanim, son of Javan, is not there. The number of descendants of the three sons of Noah, however, is kept at seventy by the inclusion of a name among the Hamites which is not counted separately in other listings. This

same list, however, is Jos.' most carefully dressed piece of work, this in itself reflecting the care which other sources also have bestowed upon the identification of the Japhethites.¹⁹

Of the seven sons of Japheth, there are three that have given problems to few: Madai, Javan and Tiras. Medes, Greeks (generally, or of one stamp or another) and Thracians are thought by the majority within specifically Jewish tradition to be the descendants of the three individuals named.²⁰ Though the last identification is, according to modern judgement, unquestionably wrong,²¹ the fact of consistency of interpretation still stands. What should be noted about Jos.' mention of the Greeks is his inclusion therein of a generalization (all the Greeks) and a specification (Ionia). The other four (Gomer, Magog, Tubal and Meshech) afford occasion for a greater variety of interpretation.

On all four of the interpretations of these other names Jos. stands virtually alone.²² The Galatai are known to have a wider significance for Jos. than just the inhabitants of that sector of Asia Minor known as Galatia; they are also the Gauls of Western and Central Europe from whom, in fact, the Galatai of Asian Galatia stemmed.²³ Jos. leaves his statement vague, but allowing us to envision a progress from East to West in the migratory ventures, rather than vice versa. The fact that at least two of the three sons of Gomaros are left as inhabitants of Asia Minor by Jos. would seem to indicate that he likes us to think of the Asian Galatai as being part of a larger group whose members are also found elsewhere.

The Skythai, if Jos. is at all serious about the Don as a kind of natural

¹⁹ The ultimate reason for this fuller treatment by both Jos. and others may be that the list is short and somewhat tempts speculation by the less easy identification of its principal members. The Hamite and Shemite lists, on the contrary, contain a number of easily identifiable names among the grandsons of Noah but also include outrageously lengthy enumerations of seemingly anonymous descendants.

²⁰ Certainly on all three identifications Jos. falls within the tradition reflected by the Targumim which, however, all seem prone to narrow down Javan to mean "Macedonia". In the *Book of Jubilees* (10/35-36) Madai explicitly receives the territory of Media. The Talmud (*Yoma*, 10a) for some inexplicable reason gives "Macedonia" for "Media" but accepts Javan "in its literal sense". For a not very enlightening comment on this detail from the *Talmud*, cf. A. NEUBAUER, *La Géographie du Talmud* (Paris: 1868), p. 422.

²¹ J. SKINNER (*op. cit.*, pp. 199-200) expressed the opinion some time ago which now seems to be generally accepted; namely, that Tiras represents the Greek *Tyrsenioi* who were "doubtless identical with the Etruscans of Italy".

²² The four identifications in question are: Galatai, Skythai, Ibères and Kappadokes. It is interesting that in another context (*CA* I/67) Jos. again links the Galatai and Ibères while quite obviously talking about other peoples with these same names (cf. following footnote).

²³ "Galatai" is the word Jos. ordinarily uses to denote the Gauls (e.g., *BJ* I/5, 397, 437, 672). Sound information about the Galatai and the Ibères is, our author declares (*CA* I/67), a thing unachieved by even the most eminent historians (e.g., Ephorus). Even if he were aware of it, however, our author says nothing about the historical nexus between the "Galatai" of Asia Minor (i.e., those of the present context) and those of Western and Central Europe.

frontier for the Japhethites, probably are being thought of as placed rather more precisely. Between the Caucasus and the Don seems to be the likely position for a people whose nomadic ways would tend to render such precision precarious. The Ibēres are found in much the same area, but southward, equivalent to modern Georgia between the Black and Caspian Seas. With the Kappadokes, of course, we are back in Asia Minor, and we have already noted the reason given by Jos. for thus identifying the Meschēnoi.

With the first of the three sons of Gomeros there is some problem. The modern "Rēgines" are said to be descended from Aschanaxēs, but who are in fact the "Rēgines"? Almost all lists stemming from a Jewish exegetical tradition assign the descendants of this man to "Asia," by which it is supposed that "Asia Proconsularis" is meant.²⁴ A. Schalit, tending to go along with this, explained "Rēgines" as the Greek expression for the inhabitants (Regini, Regienses) of the *regiones* into which Asia Proconsularis was divided at the time of Sulla.²⁵ This is, therefore, not a people we are dealing with so much as an administrative designation for the inhabitants of Asia Proconsularis.

I think it far-fetched to suppose that Jos. would, in order to designate an otherwise well known stretch of territory, use a name whose currency or intelligibility is so little attested by other sources. Asia Proconsularis itself is not a likely candidate for membership in the list Jos. is constructing, for it would embrace sections of territory which he says are occupied by other descendants of Japheth (e.g., Ionia and Aeolis) and it represents not a people or country, but a political unit comprising several countries.

Lake Ascania, in the Province of Bithynia, was well enough known, if for no other reason than that the principal city of the country was situated upon it, namely Nicaea. We are assured by ancient geographical authority that the area around the lake was called Ascania as well.²⁶ The fact that Jos. does not account for Bithynia in his listings, though the name appears at least somewhere in the lists offered in the majority of other Jewish sources, might prompt one to ask whether Bithynia is in fact meant. The two brothers of Aschanaxēs occupy the territories adjacent to Bithynia.²⁷ One can hardly assert that Bithynoi dropped out of the text and was, for some reason, replaced by Rēgines, and it is unlikely that the

²⁴ This is the general tradition preserved by the Targumim. "Asia Proconsularis" was the territory in (far) western Asia Minor which originated in the testamentary bequest of Attalus of Pergamum (133 B.C.) and which was finally organized into a province (129 B.C.). Eventually, it extended (north to south) from the Sea of Marmara to the Mediterranean.

²⁵ Cf. A. SCHALIT, *Namenwoerterbuch zu Flavius Josephus* (Leiden: 1968), p. 101.

²⁶ So, for instance, does Strabo inform us in his *Geography* (12/4/5).

²⁷ That is to say: Riphath occupied the territory of the Paphlagonians and Togarmah that of the Phrygians.

latter is a corruption of the former. This could mean, however, that Rēgines was a current though otherwise unattested reference to Bithynoi, or that the principle which A. Shalit said was operative for Asia Proconsularis was also operative here as well. These are at least possibilities, but not altogether likely.

At least four times in his version of the Table of Nations does Jos. make a city represent the modern attestation of his identification of the man in question, and this, I believe, is a good reason for rejecting A. Shalit's maintaining that we must, in the case of the Regines, be dealing with the inhabitants of a country. It would seem at least possible that the Rēgines are in fact the inhabitants of Rhegium in the south of Italy. Rhegium, as we know from Strabo, was founded by Chalcidians, who also founded Naxos in Sicily.²⁸ Is it then with these "Chalkideis" that Jos. is subtly but deliberately identifying the descendants of Aschanaxēs? This would of course mean that Chalcis in Euboea is an implicit part of the picture — a part, however, about which Jos. had better keep silent. Euboea is so obviously a portion of the identifiably Greek world that it would, first of all, come under Javan or one of his descendants. Also, however, Euboean Chalcis was said, likewise by Strabo, to have originally been a foundation from Athens, and this before the Trojan War.²⁹ Nevertheless, if this is the way Jos. wished to account for Magna Graecia from among the descendants of Japheth, there were more traditional, not to say easier, ways of doing so.³⁰ But perhaps he could not resist this somewhat subtly pointed jab at his favourite targets, the Greeks.

The other two sons of Gomer belong to Asia Minor for certain. The Paphlagonians of Jos.' day would be inhabitants of the Province of Pontus, just east of the Province and country of Bithynia, and the Phryges the inhabitants of that area of Asia Proconsularis just south thereof. Jos. is again somewhat unique in including the Paphlagonians at all, and, while Phryges appear in other lists, they are hardly ever identified with the clan of Thygrames.³¹

²⁸ Cf. the *Geography* (6/1/6; 6/2/2). Naxos resembles the last half of Jos. "Aschanaxēs" whose descendants, if they indeed founded Naxos, also founded Rhegium. Though it seems far-fetched, perhaps this is how Jos. arrived at his designation for the descendants of Gomer's first son.

²⁹ Cf. the *Geography* (10/1/8).

³⁰ Thus, for instance, the Targumim and *Genesis Rabbah* (37/1) identify "Kittim" as "Italia". This has ordinarily been understood to refer especially to Southern Italy (cf. A. NEUBAUER, *op. cit.*, p. 424). But Southern Italy also enters the picture again with the identification which *Genesis Rabbah* (loc. cit.) gives to Tarshish (which most others understand as Jos. does: Tarsos). *Genesis Rabbah* thinks Tarshish is Tarantum.

³¹ The Targumim in general, as also *Genesis Rabbah* (37/1), associate Gomer with Phrygia. Riphath, whom Jos. sends to Paphlagonia, others have sent to the east coast of Africa (Barbaria), to Commagene (Germanicia), or to the shores of the Caspian (Germania). The *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* (Ch. 31) follow Jos. in both his identifications.

The word ²LS, variously pointed ²allas and ²illas, appears almost invariably as the identification of Javan's first son. This has been understood as being "Hellas" or even "Elis," always however referring in some way to Greeks. Some take the trouble to make it clear that it is Magna Graecia that is meant, however. Jos. is therefore not unique in making the Aioleis (Greek inhabitants of the east coast of Asia Minor north of Ionia) part of his picture.³²

Nor is our author singing outside a chorus in relating Tharsos (Tarshish) to Tarsos. His taking this a step further and bringing in the whole of Kilikia seems to be his own work. But those who liked to see the sons of Javan representing Greeks in the west were led to think of "Tarantum" thereby.³³

Cyprus is not the altogether common understanding in Jewish sources of the locale in which Javan's third son settled. Greece or Italy are much more usual.³⁴ We have seen how Jos. manipulates "Kition" to make his identification, though indeed he may have in mind the more common understanding when making his remark on how "Chethim" is usually understood by speakers of Hebrew.

The omission of the last and fourth son of Javan is a puzzle. "Dodanim" is, however, often thought of as "Dardania," which would be roughly equivalent to what Jos. has already assigned to the Aioleis in the north-west corner of Asia Minor.³⁵ The LXX's "Rodioi" would not seem to have been an alternative that he chose to employ on this occasion.

Having thus finished the account of the Japhethites, we are now treated to a footnote on Jos.' method of transliteration. It is a fact of which Greeks may be unaware, he says, that he has for the sake of euphony and the readers' pleasure Hellenized names, seeing as the form in which they appear in his own country does not alter the structure and termination (so that, for instance, "Nōchos" is in Hebrew "Nōe" and retains the same form in all cases). The slight aside regarding limitations upon Greek knowledge and outlook cannot be missed.

The general structure of the Hamite phase follows the MT fairly closely, making but two really significant changes. Jos. again prefixes a

³² Cf. the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* (Ch. 31) where the descendants of Elishah are the "Eolides". The same source calls these "one fifth of the Greek tongue".

³³ Cf. footnote 30 of this chapter for the reference respecting the identification of Tarshish with Tarantum. With this one exception, however, all the sources (i.e., the Targumim and even the *Jerusalem Talmud*) seem to agree with Jos.

³⁴ "Achaia" is the testimony of the Jerusalem Talmud (*Megillah*, 1/11) and of *Targum Pseud. Jon.* (at Gen. 10/4), the "Akazia" of the latter source being understood by most in the sense in which we have taken it. "Italia" (cf. footnote 30 of this chapter) is found in the *Fragment Targum*, in *Targum Neofiti*, and in *Genesis Rabbah* (37/1).

³⁵ In fact it would be rare to find Dodanim identified as anything else but "Dardania". According to A. NEUBAUER (*op. cit.*, p. 424), this is the town of Dardanus in the Troad, on the coast of the Hellespont.

list of the overall territory covered by the Hamites, again seemingly imitating the method of the *Book of Jubilees* which in this case must be referred to in three of its passages.³⁶ The short notice of the Canaanite territories (Gen. 10/19) is omitted, but a trimmed down version of the same material is attached to the list of the sons of Egypt. The formulaic conclusion of the MT to the Hamite list is omitted also.

Describing the Hamites' general territory, Jos. takes longer over it than for the two others. The children of Ham, he says, held the countries from Syria and from the mountains of Amanus and Libanus, occupying all of the land that lay toward the sea (*thalassa*) and appropriating the regions reaching to the ocean (*ta mechri tou ōkeanou*). He prepares us for some of his surprises by saying that some names remain unimpaired, while others have been altered beyond recognition or have entirely disappeared. Though it will be clear that Jos. pictures in detail the near-eastern and African littorals of the Mediterranean world, the summary is still quite reminiscent of the rather vague but, in general, intelligible limits set by the narrative of the *Book of Jubilees*.³⁷

The Hamites then are identified as follows:

Sons to Chamos (Ham)

1. Chousaios (1. Cush)	—————→	Aithiopes = Chousaioi
2. Mersaios (2. Egypt)	—————→	"Aigyptos" = "Mersē"
	—————→	Aigyptioi = Mersaioi
3. Phoutēs (3. Put)	Phoutoi	**
4. Chananaïos (4. Canaan)	"Chananaea"	"Ioudaia"

Sons to Chousos (Cush)

5. Sabas (5. Seba)	Sabaioi	
6. Euilas (6. Havilah)	Euilaioi	Gaitouloi
7. Sabathēs (7. Sabtah)	Sabathēnoi	Astabaroi
8. Sabaktas (9. Sabteca)	Sabaktēnoi	
9. Ramos (8. Raamah)	Ramaioi	

Sons to Ramos (Raamah)

10. Ioudadas (11. Dedan)	Ioudadaioi **
11. Sabaïos (10. Sheba)	Sabaioi

Son to Chousos (Cush)

12. Nabrōdēs (12. Nimrod) **

³⁶ Cf. the *Book of Jubilees* (8/23-25), Ham's territory; (9/1), territories of Ham's sons; (10/29-34), Canaan's seizure of Palestine.

³⁷ It is to be noted that this source (9/1) places Canaan originally in a territory the farthest west of the four brothers for Cush, Egypt, Put and Canaan extend, in that order, from east to west across the top of Africa.

Sons to Mersaios (Egypt)

13. Phylistinos (= 18. Casluhim)	—————→ “Palaistinē”	all destroyed in the Ethiopian War
14. Loumaios (13. Ludim)		
15. Anamias (14. Anamim)		
16. Labimos (15. Lehabim)	—————→ “Libyē”	
17. Nedemos (16. Naphtuhim)		
18. Pethrōsimos (17. Pathrusim)		
19. Chesloimos (18. Casluhim)		
20. Chephthōmos (19. Caphtorim)		

Sons to Chananaïos (Canaan)

21. Sidōnios (20. Sidon)	—————→ “Sidōn”	
22. Amathous (30. Hamathites)	“Amathous” “Amathē”; “Epiphaneia”**	
23. Aroudaïos (28. Arvadites)	—————→ “Arados”	
24. Aroukaïos (26. Arkites)	—————→ “Arkē” en tōi Libanōi	

No further record of:

25. Euaïos (25. Hivites)	29. Gergesaios (24. Gîrgashites)
26. Chettaïos (21. Heth)	30. Seinaïos (27. Sînites)
27. Iebousaios (22. Jebusites)	31. Samaraïos (29. Zemarites)
28. Amorraïos (23. Amorites)	

The listing seems lengthy, but Jos. lets himself off quite lightly by annihilating two whole groups: most of the sons of Egypt are destroyed in the Ethiopian War, and the greater number of the Canaanites also disappear from history.³⁸ As a result, there remains nothing to identify and we are left with the names of no more than were dealt with in the Japhethite elenchus.

The “footnotes” (**) need our attention first. The third son of Ham, Phoutēs, is surely thought of as occupying the whole of the north shore of the continent of Africa west of Egypt. Most especially he is associated with the westernmost region (Mauretania), but how Africa (Proconsularis) and Libya eventually were sandwiched in between it is also Jos.’ concern to recount. What he says is that Phoutēs colonized Libya, calling the inhabitants Phoutoi, but there is a river in Mauretania that bears his name and the region adjacent to this river is called “Phoutē” according to most Greek historians — the last being a quite unverifiable statement. The country, he continues, changed its name to that which it now bears because of one of the sons of Egypt, Libys (given later, however, as Labimos), and why it is also called “Africa” will be stated shortly (in connection, as

³⁸ The Ethiopian War is the subject of Jos.’ narrative in *JA* II/238-250 and a main feature of his presentation of the early life of Moses. The Canaanites go under, of course, in the campaigns of Joshua which Jos. incorporates into *JA* V.

it turns out, with one of the sons of Abraham by Keturah: Gen. 25/1-6, JA I/238-241).

The other "footnotes" are, by comparison, quite brief. The Ioudadaioi, descendants of Cush through Raamah, are said to be a people of western Ethiopia. Nimrod (here called Nabrōdēs as distinct from the form of Nebrōdēs by which he was referred to heretofore) is said to have remained in Babylonia, where he held sway as, Jos. says, he has already mentioned. Finally, Amathē is still called such by its inhabitants, even though the Macedonians had renamed it "Epiphanaia" after one of Alexander's successors.

Of the four sons of Ham, Egypt and Canaan have offered few problems if any with regard to actual identification. The fact that Arabia was a term that comprised the territory flanking *both* sides of the Red Sea is doubtless the reason why some sources refer to Cush as being identified in this fashion, though it is to the "western" Arabians (namely, Ethiopians) that the name is being actually applied. On these three, then, Jos. may be thought to be clearly traditional.

As has already been indicated, Phoutēs (Put) has been given quite a large extent of territory by Jos., not in so many words but by a good deal of quite clear implication. As has also been said, the connection of this man with the furthest reaches of the north coast of the African continent has also been stressed by our author. Jos. is in his general self-address to this matter quite in line with what others have thought, not so surprisingly, seeing that the lands assigned to Ham's third son are all that are left of the generally agreed allotment to Ham once the other three are subtracted.³⁹ What comes across in his narrative, however, is Jos.' interest in this person vis-à-vis the otherwise unknown facts adduced about him.

Regarding the descendants of Cush, Jos. has really nothing to say about two: Sabaktas (Sabteca) and Ramos (Raamah). The "Sabaioi" are mentioned twice, the first time as descendants of Sabas (Seba) and the second as coming from Sabaioi (Sheba). In this particular context he has nothing to say of either, but, from a remark dropped in JA II/249, we know that Saba for him can be Meroe, or, as he says, its capital. In this, Jos. is certainly clear, though, in the light of some Targumic sources, he may not be exactly unique.⁴⁰

³⁹ Cf. footnote 37 of this chapter for the general picture of the territories of the sons of Ham.

⁴⁰ This is, however, something of a disputed point. By the time one reaches this juncture in the Table of Nations, the interest of the various sources is beginning to falter and we are, in effect, left with only the Targumim to deal with. The evidence here is uncertain. According to A. EPSTEIN (*Les Chamites de la table ethnographique selon le Pseudo-Jonathan comparé avec Josèphe et le Livre des Jubilés*, REJ 24 (1892), pp. 91-92) the present name of the province of Meroe (i.e., Sennar) is similar to the names associated by the Targumim with the first son of Cush but, he argues, the original intention of the Targumim may have been India.

This leaves us with four descendants of Cush to consider: Evilas, Sabathēs, Ioudadas and Nabrōdēs. The historical Gaitouloi inhabited the country in the north of the African continent inland from the coast, south of both Mauretania and Numidia (but not eastward of the latter) and extending to the west as far as the sea. The Astabaroι evidently are meant as inhabiting the region around that branch of the upper Nile called Astaboras which joined the Nile itself at Saba. With the first of these two, Jos. stands somewhat unique, but with the second comes closer to other traditions which run along the same lines.⁴¹

The "Ioudadaioi" are not given a modern designation, but are described as a "people of western Ethiopia." As always, excepting only the most obvious cases, it is a bit hard to say of what he is actually thinking, for placing it so far south is not in accord with such other Jewish sources as are available. These tend to put the descendants of this man where Jos., in effect, has emphasized the place of Phoutēs.⁴²

It is only necessary to remark one thing on the reappearance of Nimrod in this list. Neither here nor in the place where he figures most conspicuously in Jos. is anything respecting his city-building mentioned other than his connection with Shinar and/or Babel. That is to say, Erech and Accad in Shinar, as well as Nineveh, Rehoboth-Ir, Calah and Resen in Assyria — mention of all these in connection with this particular man are by-passed, and, in one case, the work is specifically assigned to another, as we shall see.⁴³

About the sons of Egypt, only four points need be noted. Jos. begins by assigning them a specific territory, along the lines of what the MT does for the sons of Canaan. The eight sons of Mersaios, he says, occupied the territory extending from Gaza to Egypt. This will not be borne out by what he eventually says, but this is the way it is put. Secondly, Jos. makes Phylistinos into a separate person, while, in the MT, this is just another designation for Casluhim.⁴⁴ Thirdly, Labimos alone settled in Libya and so gave his name to the country. In the footnote to Phoutēs, Jos. has already warned us of this fact, but in the earlier context the name was given as "Libys" and not "Labimos," as here. Fourthly and finally, all the other sons of Egypt disappear from history,

⁴¹ This is again, however, highly difficult to judge. Cf. A. EPSTEIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94. EPSTEIN is both willing and yet hesitant to place the territory mentioned in the sources (Semadi; Semarae) in the position to the south of Meroe where Jos. seems to envision it.

⁴² Cf. A. EPSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. 95. The name "Mezag" or "Mazag" associated by the Targumim with Dedan (from whom Jos. derives the Ioudadaioi) is best taken as referring to peoples of Mauretania.

⁴³ Cf. p. 114 of the present investigation. Asshur (Jos.' Assouros) also replaces Nimrod in a tradition recorded in *Genesis Rabbah* (37/4).

⁴⁴ Cf. Gen. 10/14: "Pathrusim, Casluhim (whence came the Philistines), and Caphtorim." Jos. has created a separate and eponymous ancestor for the people whom the MT derives from Casluhim.

according to our author, due to the Ethiopian War which he will narrate later and in a context which is not part of the matter of our investigation.

Among the eleven sons of Canaan, Jos. has picked and chosen but four for identification. The cities of Sidōn, Amathē (Epiphaneia) and Arkē, as well as the island of Arados, all reflect the names of Ham's descendants. All the rest have disappeared from history too because of the destruction of their cities by the Hebrews. Sidōn (the well known city of Phoenicia), Amathē (Jos.' spelling of the more easily recognized Hamath), Arados (the island of Arvad just off the coast of Phoenicia), and Arkē (another town of Phoenicia) are all easily recognized. In their identification, however, Jos. is as safe as in his identification of Egypt and Canaan.

The destruction of the cities of the other sons of Canaan has already been referred to. Jos. mentions this as his last remark respecting the Hamites, and goes on to explain why it was that the Hebrews did in fact destroy these places. The reason is based on the vine story of Gen. 9/20-27 and marks a sort of literary pause between our author's discussion of the Hamites and the Shemites.⁴⁵

After the flood, says Jos., the earth was again restored to its natural state. Noah planted vines, reaped the vintage, and, when the wine was ready, he held a sacrifice and gave himself up to festivity. Jos. says nothing about Noah's being the first tiller of the soil, but the connection of a religious dimension to the festivity should be noted. Jos. is careful to set his scene, for neither the earth's return to its natural order nor the festivity itself (much less the religious aspect of it) are part of the MT's emphasis.

Noah then becomes drunk, falls asleep, and lies exposed in an indecent state of nudity which his youngest son (later identified as Ham) saw and in mockery discloses to his brethren who, in their turn, wrap a covering about their father. Jos. is here giving the MT's version in general, postponing mention of Ham's name by referring to him in the way he is referred to later in this same story (Gen. 9/24) and omitting the details about how the covering of Noah was accomplished.

Noah now invoked a blessing on his other sons after he learned what had happened, but cursed, not Ham himself, but his posterity. Ham's nearness of kinship exempted him. While Ham's other descendants escaped this curse, divine vengeance pursued the Canaanites, and Jos. promises to speak of this hereafter. Genesis 9 makes Canaan the specific object of Noah's curse levelled because of Ham's deed. Jos. tries to explain this in the above-mentioned way according to which not Canaan but all Ham's

⁴⁵ The connection between the curse laid upon Canaan by Noah and the eventual loss of their sovereignty by the Canaanites is made in *Genesis Rabbah* (61/7) but also quite clearly by PHILO (*Quaest. in Gen.*, II/65). For other references, cf. S. RAPPAPORT, *op. cit.*, footnote 74, pp. 99-100.

descendants are cursed, and that when it begins to have its effect, it is the *children* of Canaan who receive its force. According to Jos., neither Ham nor Canaan are punished themselves, and he does not explain how it comes about that anyone who is cursed "escapes" his fate. The relating of the conquest of Canaan to Noah's curse of Canaan is, however, not a feature unique to Jos.' version, and others have felt it necessary to explain why Ham himself was not cursed.⁴⁶

The Shemites are now dealt with. The MT's order of things honours the Shemites with a special small introduction (Gen. 10/21) which Jos. omits. He will, as he has done consistently, first tell of the general territory covered by this segment of humanity, going on then to give his account of the individuals. Although he cannot rid himself of the task of identification by the excuse, used for a large number of the Hamites, that the posterity of the unidentifiable individuals were all destroyed by war, he is able to lump the Joktanites into one mass and dispatch them collectively to distant regions.

The territory occupied by Shem's sons was Asia, as far as the Indian Ocean and beginning at the Euphrates. The *Book of Jubilees* gives a much more evolved and complex picture of the territory of the Shemites, and Jos. follows it with respect to the eastern extent of what is given Shem, but drawing the line at the Euphrates is not the picture presented by the *Book of Jubilees*.⁴⁷ In fact, as we shall see, it is not Jos.' either.

These then constitute the group we now deal with:

Sons to Sēmas (Shem)

1. Elymos (1. Elam)	Elymaioi	Persai
2. Assouros (2. Asshur)**	Assyrioi**	
3. Arphaxadēs (3. Arpachshad)	Arphaxadaioi	Chaldaioi
4. Aramos (5. Aram)	Aramaioi	Syroi
5. Loudas (4. Lud)	Loudoi	Lydoi

⁴⁶ There are two classic problems connected with Gen. 9/20-27. Ham is clearly the culprit in Gen. 9/22 (where he is also specifically called the father of Canaan), and so he must be logically identified with the *bnô haqqātān* who, Noah realizes on awakening, has done him a wrong. The problems are: (1) what is the meaning of *bnô haqqātān* (since Ham is Noah's *second* son according to the usual listings); (2) why is Canaan cursed instead of Ham. Jos. has given an answer to the first in an earlier context (cf. JA I/109; p. 94 of this investigation). For him, *bnô haqqātān* means the "youngest". As we have seen, Jos. has an explanation for the second problem also, but it is not along the lines taken by *Genesis Rabba* (36/7).

⁴⁷ One example (8/13) will suffice: "And it [the territory of Shem] extends till it reaches Karaso: this is in the bosom of the tongue which looks toward the south." "Karaso" means, according to R. H. CHARLES, either the Chersonese (DILLMANN's opinion) or Rhinocorura (which CHARLES thinks perhaps more likely). Cf. R. H. CHARLES (tr.), *The Book of Jubilees* (London: 1902), p. 70.

Sons to Aramos (Aram)

6. Ousēs (6. Uz)	—————→	“Trachōnitis”
	—————→	“Damaskos”**
7. Ouros (7. Hul)	—————→	“Armenia”
8. Getherēs (8. Gether)	—————→	Baktrianoi
9. Mēsas (9. Mash)	Mēsanaioi	**

Son to Arphaxadēs (Arpachshad)

10. Selēs (10. Shelah)

Son to Selēs (Shelah)

11. Heberos (11. Eber) Hebraioi Ioudaioi

Sons to Heberos (Eber)

12. Iouktas (13. Joktan)

13. Phalegos (12. Peleg)**

Sons to Iouktas (Joktan)

14. Elmodados (Almodad)	21. Ēbalos (Obal)
15. Salephos (Sheleph)	22. Abimaēlos (Abimael)
16. Azermōthes (Hazarmaveth)	23. Saphas (Sheba)
17. Eiraēs (Jerah)	24. Ophirēs (Ophir)
18. Edōramos (Hadoram)	25. Euilēs (Havilah)
19. Ouzalēs (Uzal)	26. Iobēlos (Jobab)
20. Daklēs (Diklah)	

This time Jos. has five “footnotes” (**), all brief. Assouros founded the city of Ninos; the Assouroi, his subjects, rose to the height of prosperity. Damaskos lies between Palestine and Coele Syria. The Mēsanaioi live in the region now called “Spasini Charax” (located by Jos. himself, *JA* XX/22 and 34, in the neighbourhood of Adiabene). Phalegos received his name from the fact that he was born at the time of the partition of territories, *phalek* representing the Hebrew for “division.”

We perhaps should at least note in passing the assignation of Ninos (Nineveh) to Assouros, instead of to Nimrod (Gen. 10/11-12). The name of Peleg is given the same etymology by the MT (Gen. 10/25) but Jos. continues to leave us in the dark about how he interprets this division of territory. That is to say, is the territory division for him merely the natural result of the scattering after the confusion of tongues or not?

Of the five sons of Sēmas, Elymos and Assouros would, by the nature of things, be the least difficult to define. Jos. leaves blank any identification of the latter in terms of contemporary boundaries, doubtless supposing that the name of the once mighty Assyria was sufficient explanation in itself.

Jos. agrees with the *Book of Jubilees* in tracing Arphaxadēs among the Chaldaioi. In this source also they retain the southernmost position of the peoples of Mesopotamia, and this is a fact which chimes in with the evidence from other sources as well.⁴⁸ In identifying the Aramaioi, however, Jos. parts company with the *Book of Jubilees*, assigning them to Syria whereas the other takes them as inhabiting the area of Mesopotamia between the Chaldaeans to the south and the Assyrians to the north. A position in Mesopotamia somewhere would seem to be the more common understanding and here Jos. may be somewhat original.⁴⁹

The fifth son of Shem was the ancestor of the Loudoi whom Jos. does not hesitate to place in Lydia, in the midst of the sons of Japheth and quite west of the boundaries he has set for the Shemites in general. This identification is by no means unique to our author, and the fact that he has not adjusted his narrative to fit this case is a piece of inconsistency for which he may be forgiven.⁵⁰ Again, however, it is surprising that in a work pretending to be seriously devoted to the facts as they are, this particularly outstanding lack of harmonization should occur.

As for the sons of Aramos, the relation of Ousēs to Damascus, Ouros to Armenia and Getherēs to Baktria seems, in each case, to be based on some vague likeness of sound. It is probable that Ousēs became related to Trachonitis once his relation with Damascus was determined, for the relation of the former to the latter is one which appears in most descriptions which attempt to designate the former's exact boundaries.⁵¹

In the case of the last son of Aramos, Mēsas, we may be coming closer to an identification which is a likely one and may, for that reason, also have been current. Spasini Charax (around Adiabene) would be near Mons Masius, the chain of mountains which forms the northern boundary of Mesopotamia and extends almost directly east-west. To anyone at all familiar with the area, or even to a reader of Strabo, this evident natural barrier would be well enough known.⁵²

About Selēs, son of Arphaxadēs, Jos. has nothing to say whatsoever, not even chancing the formation of a fictitious set of persons to whom

⁴⁸ As J. SKINNER points out (*op. cit.*, p. 205), "Josephus recognized in the last three letters the name of the Chaldaeans (kešed)..." This indeed may have been our author's reason for his identification — a line of thought which was perhaps also active in the identification of the descendants of Ashkenaz (cf. footnote 28 of this chapter). The *Book of Jubilees* (9/4) and the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* (31/16), however, both echo what Jos. has done.

⁴⁹ Here again, however, the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* (31/16) give what Jos. gives (i.e., Syria) — perhaps merely another indication that this later source is but following our author rather than mediating a tradition to which he too had access.

⁵⁰ Cf. J. SKINNER (*op. cit.*, p. 206) who characterizes Jos.' identification as the common one, *pace* a few modern (and gratuitous) suggestions.

⁵¹ STRABO, for instance, associates the two names in his description of the general area in which both are found (*Geography*, 16/2/16; 16/2/20).

⁵² Cf. J. SKINNER, *op. cit.*, p. 207. The citations about Mt. Masius in STRABO's *Geography* occur at 11/14/2 & 16/1/22.

he assigns no specific identity. The son of Selēs, Heberos, is, however, traced through the Hebraioi to the contemporary Ioudaioi, but, in this matter, it is quite natural and logical that Jos. sing in chorus with a number of other traditions which relate ʿēber to ʿibrīm/ʿibrīyīm.⁵³ Iouktas remains as neglected as Selēs, and Phalegos merits attention only, as has been noted, with respect to the derivation of his name and the reason therefor.

After listing the sons of Iouktas, Jos. imitates the MT in assigning a place to these people *en bloc*. He says that they proceeded from the river Cōphēn (a tributary of the Indus), inhabiting parts of India and of the adjacent country of “Sēria”. This differs from the MT which has them living in a territory extending from Mesha in the direction of Sephar (to?) the hill country of the east. Jos. really cannot be blamed too much in making his somewhat imaginative attempt to construe a description which is distinguished by its obscurity. As Thackeray suggests, the LXX’s rendering of Ophir as “Sopheir” in this context may have put India into Jos.’ mind since, though he does not adopt this spelling for Ophir in this particular context, he elsewhere mentions Sopheira as being associated with India.⁵⁴ Once this connection became established, the river “Cophes” and the people known as the “Seres” could have been bits snatched from Strabo’s banquet.⁵⁵

Having disposed thus of the Joktanites, Jos. imitates the little closing formula which the MT gives the Shemites by telling us that this is all that he has to tell of the children of Shem — a statement which must be taken rather loosely, in the light of the fact that the rest of Genesis, not to say of the Bible, is a continuation of the story of the Shemites.

(c)

In the MT, Genesis 10 is followed immediately by the story of the city and the tower (Gen. 11/1-9), of which Jos. has already made use. We go on immediately, therefore, to the chronological genealogy of Gen. 11/10-26. Jos. introduces it by saying that he will now speak of the Hebrews, which in fact he does at once by running through the genealogy from Eber to Abraham (Gen. 11/16-26), trimming off the chronology for

⁵³ Commenting on the fact that Abraham is called “the Hebrew” in Gen. 14/8, *Genesis Rabbah* (42/8) has it that: “R. Nehemiah said: ‘(It denotes) that he was descended from Eber’”. *Numbers Rabbah* (10/3) claims that Israel comes from two eponyms, Shem and Eber, from whom Israel derives its appellation of “Hebrews”.

⁵⁴ Cf. *JA* VIII/164. H. St.J. THACKERAY’s treatment of the point will be found in *Josephus with an English Translation* (9 vols.; London-Cambridge, Mass.: 1930), IV, 72-73.

⁵⁵ The Cophes and the Seres are both, according to STRABO, found in India. The former are mentioned in the *Geography* (15/1/26-27) in conjunction with Alexander’s trip eastward; the latter are also a phenomenon encountered on the same journey (15/1/34 & 37). The Seres, it turns out, live to great ages. Could this have baited the hook for Jos.’ identification? The same people are also mentioned in passing by Strabo in 11/11/1.

the time being, as well as both the initial portion including Shem to Eber (which has in effect been included in the foregoing material), and the mention of Nahor and Haran as Abraham's brothers. This same separation of genealogy from chronology in dealing with chronological genealogies we have already met with.⁵⁶

Abraham, says Jos., was born in the 992nd year after the flood, and this he proves by now running backward through the chronology of Gen. 11/10-26 to the birth of Arpachshad. The numbers included in this list are only the individuals' birth-dates (in relation to their fathers' ages at the time of their birth). Reference to the exact length of life of each is omitted, though this was of sufficient interest in the Sethite table to have been included by our author when dealing with the flood's chronology. The numbers employed in this list are, for the most part, those of the LXX, and, needless to say, the highly stylized character of the MT's presentation of the whole chronological genealogy is not imitated.

Gen. 11/27-32 is a small account of Abraham's immediate family and their background. As it concludes with a mention of Terah's death, Jos. will again take the opportunity to dwell on the longevity of the patriarchs and the diminishing life-span of the race.

Abraham, says Jos., had two brothers: Nahor and Haran (Gen. 11/26f). Haran was father to Lot (Gen. 11/27) and to both Sarah and Milcah (Gen. 11/29 — Jos. understanding "Iscah" as being Sarah). Haran died in Chaldaea in a city called Ur of the Chaldees (Gen. 11/28) and his sepulchre is shown to this (Jos.) day. Nahor married his niece Milcah, and Abraham his niece Sarah (Gen. 11/29). Terah came to hate Chaldaea because of the loss of Haran, so they all migrated to "Charran" in Mesopotamia (Gen. 11/31) where Terah died and was buried at the age of 205 (Gen. 11/32).

Over these details of Abraham's early life Jos. is notably conservative. The two changes he introduces respecting the identity of Sarah as Iscah, and the motive for moving from Ur to Haran, are not equally popular.⁵⁷ The sepulchre of Haran is not said by Jos. to be in Ur, and the supposition of some is that Jos. indicates that Haran the city was associated with Haran the person by his burial in that locale.⁵⁸ Sarah's barrenness is omitted.

⁵⁶ Cf. the earlier sections of this investigation, pp. 18 and 84-85.

⁵⁷ In Gen. 20/12 Sarah is, according to Abraham, "the daughter of my father but not the daughter of my mother". In the face of this, both Jos. and a great number of others have made Sarah replace Iscah in the Genesis genealogy and thereby become the daughter of Haran and the niece of Abraham. On this cf. *Targum Pseud. Jon.* (at Gen. 11/29 & 20/12), *Seder Olam Rabbah* (Ch. 2), and *Sanhedrin* (69b). Jos. stands more or less alone in his rationalization of Terah's move from Ur.

⁵⁸ Regarding this suggestion, cf. S. RAPPAPORT, *op. cit.*, p. 14 and footnote 77a, p. 100. Genesis presents us with a problem about the move from Ur for it is said (Gen. 11/31) that the idea when leaving Ur was to go to Canaan, not to Haran. The intermediate Haran might seem to get lost in the shuffle and perhaps eventually

It is after mentioning the death of Terah that Jos. adds his note regarding the decreasing longevity of mankind. At the death of Terah, he says, human life was already being curtailed and continued to diminish until the birth of Moses, after whom the limit of age was fixed at 120 years — the length of Moses' life (Deut. 34/7). Jos. has decided not to give us the ages of the patriarchs between Shem and Nahor (Terah's father), so the evidence of his statement, as actually present for instance in the MT, is left aside. The notice about longevity, however, points in two directions: backward, to the context of the flood (Gen. 6/3), and forward, to the death of Moses.⁵⁹

Before telling us more about Abraham, Jos. is intent upon completing at this point the genealogy of Abraham's brother Nahor. This is the genealogy given by the MT (Gen. 22/20-24), just after the attempted sacrifice of Isaac. The twelve offspring, eight by Milcah and four by Reumah, are given in the order in which they occur in the MT, Rebekah, who appears between the two groups in the Hebrew text, being put by Jos. at the end. For the sake of completeness, Laban is added as brother to Rebekah, though he does not appear until much later in Genesis (24/29). Our author omits the MT's little note about the fact that Kemuel was the father of Aram.

Gen. 12/1-9 now becomes the setting for Jos.' narrative. This is rather the high-point of the whole introductory narrative on the identity and person of Abraham, and Jos. has been leading up to it by everything said so far. The dry bones of the initial genealogy and chronology, the brief characterization of the immediate family with its migration to Haran, and the placing of Rebekah and Laban in the picture for future reference, are all prelude to the migration to Canaan into which Jos. sandwiches a character sketch of Abraham himself.

Not since the initial stages of the flood account have we encountered the kind of selectivity which Jos. manages here in contrast to the material of the MT. He begins by saying that, having no legitimate son of his own (an indirect reference to Sarah's barrenness?) Abraham adopted Lot, son of his brother and brother of his wife.⁶⁰ God having bid him to remove to Canaan (the substance of Gen. 12/1-3, though the MT is in direct discourse and contains no reference to Canaan), at the age of seventy-five he left Chaldaea (Gen. 12/4-5, where Lot and his identity are mentioned also, but neither adoption nor Chaldaea as the starting point appears as a factor). He settled in Canaan (general theme of Gen. 12/5-8) and left the country to his descendants. The final point, respecting the posses-

tended to become identified with Ur itself. What follows will give us more time to reflect on this point.

⁵⁹ Cf. p. 83 of this investigation.

⁶⁰ The adoption of Lot is a feature of the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* (35/1). Seemingly it is not found elsewhere (cf. S. RAPPAPORT, *op. cit.*, footnote 78, pp. 100-101).

sion and legacy of Canaan, is perhaps built upon the divine promise (Gen. 12/7) which Jos. does not otherwise mention.

The character sketch now begins. Abraham was, according to our author, of ready intelligence in all matters, persuasive of speech and not mistaken in his inferences. His character allowed him to have a more lofty conception of virtue than the rest of men and he determined to reform and change the ideas universally current about God.

Abraham, in other words, was a natural theologian in both the theoretical and the practical orders. This sounds Philonic and possibly is so. For the Alexandrian, Abraham was the ideal of the man who is taught, and taught, not just by commands and direct communications, but by manifest signs of nature.⁶¹ But Abraham's natural theological abilities are part of other traditions which also treat of his character.⁶²

Abraham's theology is now described. He was the first to declare boldly that God, the Creator of the universe (*dēmiourgos tōn holōn*) is one. If any other being contributed to man's welfare it did so not of its own power but by God's command. To God alone, therefore, it is right to pay homage and thanksgiving.

The second statement, regarding the subordination of all created goods to God, Abraham is said to have inferred from the irregularity of natural phenomena which, if they were sovereign powers themselves, would not possess this manifest defect vis-à-vis the equally manifest power they possess to co-operate for our greater good. Powers they are, but not sovereign. Again, the arguments of Philo against Chaldaean astrology seem to be echoed in this passage, especially in the emphasis on the good which the heavenly powers are capable of performing.⁶³

Jos. continues his narrative about Abraham by telling us that it was due to these theological opinions that the Chaldaeans and the other peoples of Mesopotamia rose against him, and he, thinking fit to migrate, at the will and with the aid of God, settled in the land of Canaan.

⁶¹ We find these notions in PHILO's *De Abrahamo* (52 & 60). The first context indicates PHILO's concern to present Abraham as the first of a triad wherein the patriarch represents the soul which searches for virtue by being taught. The second context contains the thought which is summarized in the main body of this investigation regarding Abraham's aptitude for learning from what was communicated to him in nature.

⁶² The *Apocalypse of Abraham* (Ch. 7) is quite representative of the group. Therein, Abraham is made to run through a series of subordinate natural phenomena stretching from fire to the heavenly bodies which, in turn, are themselves subject to diminution of power and change. He ends with an enunciation of the existence of God Who created all these powerful but imperfect things, praying that "God reveal Himself to us through Himself". For further references to the mention of Abraham's natural theology, cf. S. RAPPAPORT, *op. cit.*, p. 15 and footnote 80, pp. 101-102.

⁶³ In a long section of his *De Migratione* (176-197), PHILO discusses Abraham's first migration: that from Chaldaea to Haran. This, for the Alexandrian, means progress from astrology to sense-perception and he takes the opportunity afforded by this context to describe and oppose astrological religion. Especially in sections 180-181 does PHILO seem to be expressing sentiments which resonate with those of Jos.

Thus does Jos. bring us back to where he left us at the beginning of his description of Abraham's character and abilities. But something new has been added, namely, a motivation for migration. The general setting for everything Jos. has been saying about Abraham's beliefs has been his *original* home, Ur of the Chaldees. The traditions about Abraham having suffered for his beliefs in that locale are plentiful.⁶⁴ It is this persecution that leads to the migration to *Haran*, however. But Jos. has already narrated the migration to Haran, together with its own special motive, and, in this present context makes direct reference to the fact that this migration is the one which would wind up not in Haran but in Canaan. His inclusion of the "other peoples of Mesopotamia" is probably an attempt to shift the scene to Haran implicitly, once the contradiction was recognized.⁶⁵

This still leaves unanswered the earlier contradiction, however, where Abraham is said to have migrated to Canaan at the age of seventy-five from *Chaldaea*, in the very context where he is certainly, according to the MT, migrating from *Haran*. Behind all these difficulties about Haran may lie an interpretation which makes the absolute most of the indefinite character of the divine command of Gen. 12/1-3, in which context no particular land is mentioned. Philo for instance seems to take the divine command as part of the Chaldaean picture.⁶⁶ But the age of seventy-five is directly connected by the MT with migration from Haran and unless the migration both took place in the same year, which is not what most traditions would have, the difficulty in Jos. still remains and the *lapsus* still unharmonized.

The account of this initial stage of Abraham's career ends by noting that Abraham built an altar in Canaan and offered sacrifice to God (Gen. 12/7-8). The building of two altars is mentioned in Genesis but these our author combines into one. The localities given in the MT (Shechem,

⁶⁴ Abraham's sufferings for his beliefs are recorded by many sources. Difficulties with the authorities in Chaldaea itself are the subject of *Genesis Rabbah* (38/13) where the patriarch undergoes a heresy trial before Nimrod and delivers himself of an argument similar to that given Terah in the segment quoted from the *Apocalypse of Abraham* (cf. footnote 62 of this chapter). Similar and more detailed sufferings of Abraham in Chaldaea are contained in the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (Ch. 6) and the *Book of Jashar* (Chapters 11-12). That Abraham and his family were expelled and forced to flee from Chaldaea is the testimony of the *Book of Judith* (5/7-8).

⁶⁵ Cf. footnote 58 of this chapter where the present difficulty is anticipated. Cf. also the following footnote where a reference to Philo would seem to confuse things even more. Jos.' own confusion seems to indicate the confluence of various traditions about Abraham's two-stage migration from the east but further speculation about what these traditions were can remain but that — speculation.

⁶⁶ As already remarked (cf. footnote 63 of this chapter), the migration of Abraham from Chaldaea to Haran was interpreted by PHILO (in his usual fashion) as a *spiritual* progress. It is in the *Quis Heres* (277), however, that he very much gives the impression that the words addressed by God to Abraham at the beginning of Genesis 12 were delivered while Abraham was still in Chaldaea.

oak of Moreh, the mountain between Bethel and Ai) are all by-passed, as well as the passage to the Negeb (Gen. 12/9).

There is a haunting obscurity about the early career of Abraham, and this is in no way dispelled by the handling that Jos. gives to the matter. The whole relation of Abraham to the generation of the division in general, and to Nimrod in particular, has gone unmentioned. This seeming lack of consciousness of, or perhaps deliberate divorce from, the whole background chronology of the period with which he is dealing makes of Jos. a singular historian indeed. But this is to grant the initial fact which cannot be granted in the case of Jos., namely, that he is following, or even conscious of, the chronology of the MT which makes many of the protagonists among the Noachids contemporaries. Indeed, the chronology adopted by Jos., granting he has retained the same age for each member of the genealogy as that given in the MT, has the chief effect of making such contemporary contact quite impossible. Perhaps he should be at least granted the grace of knowing what is conformable to his own frame of reference. His picture is simple enough in its own terms, and it is perhaps best to take leave of it under the impression that there is at least some harmony in his presentation.

As a closing piece to his introduction of Abraham, three external authorities are cited: Berosus, Hecataeus (of Abdera), and Nicolas of Damascus. The first and third are quoted, while it is said of Hecataeus that he has done more than merely mention Abraham, but has written a whole book about him.

Berosus is said to have mentioned Abraham without naming him when he said that in the tenth generation after the flood there lived a man among the Chaldaeans who was just and great and versed in celestial lore. Nicolas has more to say. His declaration is that Abramēs reigned in Damascus, and was an invader who came with an army from the country beyond Babylon called the land of the Chaldees, the name of Abram still being celebrated in the region of Damascus, and a village being shown that is called "Abram's abode". The same authority is quoted further as stating that Abramēs left this country for the land then called Canaan but now Judaea, where he and his numerous descendants settled, whose history is to be the subject of another book (by Nicolas).

As has been noted by others, the association of Abraham with Damascus in this text is at least worthy of mention.⁶⁷ For our purposes, however, it is sufficient to advert to but one thing. According to the

⁶⁷ Worthy of mention, indeed, because, as H. St.J. THACKERAY remarks, NICOLAS is good authority for the traditions of his native place but also because, as T. REINACH calls to our attention, an earlier Latin writer, TROGUS POMPEIUS (c. 20 B.C.), likewise mentions Abraham among the kings of Damascus. According to M. REINACH, these traditions must have arisen at the time when Damascus and Israel were on intimate terms. Cf. H. St.J. THACKERAY, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81; T. REINACH & J. WEILL, *Œuvres complètes de Flavius Josèphe* (Paris: 1900), I, 38.

testimony of Nicolas, the last stop before passing on to Canaan was Damascus. Though this is not Haran by any means, the fact that Nahor stayed behind while Abraham went on could be the background for associating this text with Abraham's brother, which in effect might lead to the further association of the name of one of his sons, Uz (called Ouxos by Jos.), with the city of which the other Uz (called Ousēs), who was the son of Aramos, was said to be the founder.⁶⁸

So the heavily laden third chapter of our examination closes, and with it also the first part thereof. Working in the dark as we are, the principal task has been to discover exactly what Jos. is saying. This is by no means easy, and the variables which enter into consideration are almost infinite. At this juncture, however, the thing that should be most evident is the care with which the story as we know it from the MT is being followed. Not just the story is in question here, but also the form which the story takes in the Hebrew source. Face to face with the obvious transpositions and replacements, we have a continual and consistent return to the form of the Genesis narrative which, when it could be improved upon, is not and, when it seems to be carrying its own weight, is suddenly expanded, dropped or transposed. The pattern as we know it from the MT is always there nonetheless and this fact alone is of paramount importance to note as we take leave of the Proto-History of the sacred narrative and enter the History of the Patriarchs.

⁶⁸ Cf. pp. 114-115 of this investigation.

PART II

Abraham: Genesis 12/10 - 25/10

Introduction

The pace of Genesis now slackens abruptly and quite noticeably. After covering (according to the more conservative estimate) close on two millenia in the first eleven chapters, we now spend the rest of the thirty-nine in leisurely chronicling the events of but some 280 odd years. From the vast array of individuals about whom tantalizingly little has been said, we pass to a narrative which has but four principal characters about each of whom there will be a sufficiency to say.

It is notoriously difficult to strike a balance between these two halves of Genesis, and it ought to be noted at least in passing that Jos. has in fact kept his treatment of the first eleven chapters within reasonable limits and, without putting a fine point upon the matter, has quietly but nonetheless surely built Abraham into the last phase of the foregoing history. By contrast, however, most of what is to come will at first seem somewhat jejune and tame.

This present Part II will take us up through the death of Abraham and will involve little major transposition. We have already seen that the Nahorite genealogy has been transposed from Gen. 22/20-24 to a place which brings it closer to the foregoing genealogical material of Genesis 11. A similar thing will now be done for the Ishmaelites (Gen. 25/12-18) who are attached to the story of the expulsion of Hagar and her son (Gen. 21/8-21). *Within* the sequence of episodes, Gen. 25/1-6 is made to follow the account of Sarah's death (Genesis 23) and Abraham's covenant with Abimelech (or rather such little of that episode as Jos. includes from the material of Gen. 21/22-32) is joined with the other Abraham-Abimelech account of Genesis 20.

Though our author will cease almost entirely to cite external witnesses (the only and last such citation occurring with reference to the offspring of Keturah), he takes up the manipulation of his accounts with a variety of methods which have not as yet made their appearance in his version. The stories of the patriarchs are a challenge to exegesis on a new and different level.

CHAPTER 4: Father of Nations

The first series of Abraham stories takes us from Gen. 12/10 through Gen. 20/18. To Genesis 20, however, Jos. added what he has to say of Gen. 21/22-32, so it is actually with an examination of his treatment of the later passage that this chapter will conclude.

We shall treat this section of the *JA* (I/161-212) in five parts, for Jos. has so styled his narrative as to bring together into as close, or ever closer, a unity the material which in our editions of the Bible is set off into separate chapters.

It would be just as well to signal from the outset a general tendency manifested by our author to change the divine gift of the Promised Land into a divine prediction of its future conquest, thus seeming to place the right of possession in the force of arms rather than in the divine will manifest in an eternal covenant.

There are many chronological details scattered throughout the history of the Patriarchs; but, as already mentioned, chronology of the sort which compares dates and ages is not part of Jos.' approach, or of the approach which he may be following.

(a)

The story of the concealment of a wife's identity in face of danger, and the results of this concealment, is told three times in Genesis: twice of Abraham (12/10-20 and 20/1-18) and once of Isaac (26/1-11). Jos. will omit the version involving Isaac but will include both of the stories relating to Abraham. At this juncture we encounter the first of these two narratives.

All three versions of the story develop along similar lines, the version given in Gen. 20/1-18 (Abraham's deception of Abimelech) manifesting the fullest development of all. Jos. will borrow a lot from the second version in retelling this first one, even though later he will also include the second, borrowing for his purposes elements from the first.

The story, in its most ornate form, may be said to unroll in twelve consecutive stages. It will be helpful as we go along to outline the story in its three versions in order to see precisely and clearly what Jos. is up to. Version I is that of the left-hand column, II of the middle column, and III of the right-hand column. Henceforth, each version will be referred to by its Roman numeral.

— 1 —

A. goes to Egypt; famine is cause.

A. goes to Gerar.

I. goes to Gerar; 2nd famine cause; God forbids Egypt.

— 2 —

Prearrangement for deception.

A. says S. is sister (revealed later: she is; deception prearranged; cf. 10c & d).

I. says R. is sister, when asked.

— 3 —

Motive: fear for life from Egyptians; S.'s beauty.

(Revealed later: motive was fear of being killed; no fear of God in Gerar; cf. 10a & b).

Motive: fear for life from men of the place; R.'s beauty.

The first theme of the story is the motive for migration. In I and III this is famine, but Jos. adds to this motive another. The Egyptian abundance was one reason, but Abraham also wished to hear what their priests had to say about the gods, intending, if convinced by them, to convert to their beliefs, or, if not, to convert them to a better mind. This picture of Abraham as wise man is one with which Jos. has already made us familiar in his account of Abraham's early years in Chaldaea. It is the polytheism of the Egyptians that is clearly in question.¹

The plan for the deception is the next theme, and, in I and II this is made previously between the man and wife. Jos. however follows I in making this *known* at the very beginning of the plot.

The motive for this deception is, in all three versions, fear of being killed by the men of the place, with special reference in I and III to the wife's beauty, and in II to the godlessness of the inhabitants. Jos. may be combining all this in his emphasis on the fear Abraham has of the Egyptian frenzy for women. He follows none of the versions, however, in specifying the *king* of the place as being the one feared.

— 4 —

S. is praised to, and then taken by, the king.

S. is taken by the king (revealed later: marital relations excluded; cf. 7c).

— — — — —

— 5 —

A. receives gifts.

— — — — —

— — — — —

¹ Jos. would seem to have originated this particular setting for Abraham's trip to Egypt. That Egypt had a reputation for wisdom is seen from the text of I Kings 5/9 (4/30 in our Bibles) where Solomon is said to have been granted a measure of wisdom greater than that of Egypt. How this was practically operative is the subject of a little story in *Numbers Rabbah* (19/3) which parenthetically underscores the Egyptians' reputation.

— 6 —

Plague from God on king and house. (Revealed later: king was afflicted with disease; his house with barrenness; cf. 12a & b).

What happens upon their arrival in Egypt begins by following I (Sarah is praised to Pharaoh), but concludes by following none of the versions strictly, for, though Pharaoh reacts to the report by being fired with a desire to see her, he is but on the point of laying hands on her when prevented (by the advent of affliction). This takes its clue from II, where, though taken by Abimelec, Sarah is not taken as wife or concubine. The theme of I, that Abraham was given presents at this juncture, is by-passed.

The plague thus comes, and, in Jos., takes the form of "disease and political violence" without specifying who is stricken, and so not following Genesis at all. Both I and II include the affliction, and Jos. follows I by inserting it at this point, but in both cases the affliction is physical and comes upon Pharaoh and his house. The *Genesis Apocryphon* of Qumran is at one with Jos. in placing a causal connection between the plague and the non-consummation of the king's ultimate design, though the sequence of events in II might be made to imply such a connection.²

— 7 —

Cause of plague is discovered.

Theology in king's dream: a. threat; b. identity of S; (c. S's chastity); d. king's innocence; e. God aware, & cause, of king's innocence; f. command to restore; g. A. is prophet & healer; h. threat.

King discovers the identity of R. by visual evidence.

— 8 —

— — — — —

King tells his servants of dream; they become afraid.

— — — — —

— 9 —

A. is severely reproved.

A. is reproved.

I. is reproved.

² The story told in Gen. 12/10-20 is the subject of a retelling in the *Genesis Apocryphon* (19/10 - 20/32). The point to be noted occurs in 20/16-18: "But that night God Most High sent him a pestilential spirit to afflict him and all the men of his household, an evil spirit, that kept afflicting him and all the men of his household. He was not able to approach her nor did he have intercourse with her, though he was with her (?) for two years."

—10 —

— — — — —	A. explains: a. motive was fear for life; b. no fear of God in Gerar; c. S. is his sister; d. deception was by prearrangement.	I. explains: fear of being killed.
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The cause of the affliction is now discovered and Jos. parts company with Genesis altogether. In I, the cause is discovered but it is not specified how, and in II and III it is a dream and visual evidence respectively which give away the deception. Jos. would have it that the king had sacrifices offered to discover a remedy and that the priests declared that the affliction came from the wrath of God because Pharaoh had wished to outrage the stranger's wife.³ Instead of summoning Abraham to reprove or question him, the terrified king summons Sarah and from her learns the truth. Subtly enough, Jos. has replaced the summoning of Abraham for reproof with the summoning of Sarah for information. But it is the general pattern of II which is being followed.

— 11 —

A. & S. are expelled from Egypt.	S. is restored; A. given presents, freedom of land, indemnity; S. told of the indemnity.	King tells I his reason for concern over the deception; warning published protecting I. & R.
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— 12 —

— — — — —	A.'s prayers: a. heal the king's disease; b. cure barrenness of household.	— — — — —
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In line with the eventual benevolent attitude of II and III, the king is all apologies to Abraham. The wording, however, would indicate a direct dependence on II's presentation of Abimelech's excuses to God during the dream-vision which, in II, reveals the cause of the affliction. In the present context, Pharaoh is made to declare that it was out of

³ In the *Genesis Apocryphon* (20/21-26), Lot reveals Sarah's true identity to a courtier of Pharaoh, and the courtier in turn tells the news to his lord. In *Genesis Rabbah* (41/2) "all" exclaim, when they behold the affliction of Pharaoh and his house, that "it is because of Sarai, Abram's wife". Jos.' version, however, is following the tradition attested by Pseudo-Eupolemus according to whom Pharaoh consults the *manteis* and learns the truth from them (cf. EUSEBIUS, *Praep. Evan.*, 9/17; 418c in MIGNE). The text cited from *Genesis Rabbah* is important for another reason. At the end of the section referred to, it is made clear that it was indeed a rabbinic method to read Gen. 12/10-20 in the light of Gen. 20/1-18 — a method which Jos. is also obviously following.

sincere belief that she was Abraham's sister that he had felt affection for her to begin with (Gen. 20/5) and that he had wished to marry her and not outrage her in a fit of passion. The intention to marry Sarah may ultimately derive from the explication of an otherwise unmentioned detail of II, where Sarah actually is taken by the king but neither outraged nor married.

Now clearly in the mainstream of II, Abraham is made the recipient of abundant riches and consorted with the most learned of the Egyptians, whence his virtue and reputation became still more conspicuous. In II Abraham is given the freedom of the country, and in III, a specially publicized royal protection — both themes perhaps being in Jos.' mind when telling of Abraham's ensuing friendly relations with the Egyptians. The concluding theme of II, however, which has Abraham be the cure of the affliction which has been imposed, is not included by our author, unless this too is somehow meant to be the basis for Abraham's consequent fame for virtue.

It will be evident from this brief summary of the material just how dependent upon the other versions, especially II, Jos. is in recounting Abraham's Egyptian sojourn. There is nothing in fact which is *peculiar* to III which forms any part of the overall picture. The general trend of all the changes is clear. Abraham and Sarah must come out looking blameless of *anything*. What is curious is how Jos. has adhered to text manipulation rather than to outright addition or radical alteration in order to accomplish his purposes. The elaborateness of the effort to adhere to details given at least somewhere in Genesis should be quite evident.

But Jos. has not as yet concluded all he has to say. Egyptian society was rife with a variety of different customs, says Jos. This led to mutual disparagement and mutual enmity. Abraham conferred with the various parties, heard their arguments, and demonstrated to each that what they held was idle and contained nothing true. He thus gained a reputation for sagacity, intelligence and the power to convince on any subject he undertook to teach.⁴ Equipped with this reputation, Abraham introduced among the Egyptians arithmetic and astronomy of which the Egyptians had been ignorant heretofore.⁵ From Chaldaea, therefore, these sciences passed to Egypt, and from Egypt to the Greeks.

For the most part, this reproduces what has already been said of Abraham and his career among the Chaldaeans, with the added fact that

⁴ That Abraham had made proselytes in Egypt is the testimony of *Genesis Rabbah* (39/14).

⁵ ARTAPANUS tells us that Abraham taught *astrologia* to the Egyptians during his stay of twenty years among them (cf. EUSEBIUS, *op. cit.*, 9/18; 420b in Migne). In *Baba Bathra* (16b) it is explained that Abraham was blessed in all things in that he possessed the power of reading the stars, for which he was much sought after by the potentates of East and West. Abraham's relationship to Chaldaea and its astrology has already been taken up in this investigation (pp. 119-120).

the Egyptians and the Greeks owed him what they know of arithmetic and astronomy. This last is but a part of the axe-grinding of Jos. against the Greeks and their claims to originality — a polemic of which evidence has appeared before this.

Perhaps the most important thing to note in this entire tale is the combination of the two Genesis traditions. The rest is merely a repetition of things already dealt with and serves merely to emphasize the side of Abraham's character which does not expressly appear in Genesis.

(b)

Chapters thirteen through fifteen of Genesis are bound together into a tight little unit by our author, who makes of chapter fourteen his principal theme. The presence of Lot in Sodom is made to lead up to the war with the "Assyrian" king (Genesis 14) and Abraham's generous gesture at the end of the narrative of the war (Gen. 14/24) leads directly into whatever Jos. will have to record of the matter of the last of these three chapters.

Genesis 13 is the narrative of three events: the journey out of Egypt (1-4); the separation of Abraham and Lot (5-13); Abraham's settling at Mamre (14-18). The last section is prefixed by a theolougy (14-17) which Jos. omits entirely.

The journey out of Egypt is reduced by our author to an adverbial clause: "When he returned to Canaan . . .". This, in effect, takes us directly to Gen. 13/3, without any mention of the exact locality (the mountain between Bethel and Ai). Lot is not said to be Abraham's travelling companion, and the route through the Negeb is apparently of no interest. The riches of Abraham find no place in Jos.' version, nor does Abraham's calling upon the name of the Lord when reaching his destination.

The rest of this section is merely the account of Abraham's separation from Lot, into which verse 18 is inserted after the general description of Abraham's territory in verse 12. This allows Jos. to end all this with a reference to Sodom as in verse 13.

The two men's shepherds quarrel over grazing land (13/7), and Abraham allows Lot to select what he wishes (13/9). Abraham takes for himself the lowland the other left him (13/12a) and settles at "Nabro" (13/18) which is more ancient by seven years than Tanis in Egypt. Lot occupies the district in the direction of the plain and the river Jordan (13/10-11) not far from the city of Sodom (13/12b). Jos. now wants to comment on Sodom, but instead of following the MT of the next verse (13/13) he returns to a comment of 13/10 where the eventual destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah is referred to. Sodom, Jos. says, was then prosperous but has now by God's will been obliterated, and the cause of its fate shall be indicated in its place.

God enters this picture only in the last phase, and then only in connection with the destruction of the cities of the plain. Every other theological aspect of Genesis 13 is excised. As absent as any emphatic theological dimension is the MT's clear picture of the riches of both men. Perezites and Canaanites, as well as the oaks of Mamre, are absent, and the overall beauty of the "Oval of the Jordan" is transmuted into the prosperity of Sodom — a theme with which Jos. will begin his narration of Genesis 14.

Before going on to the next stage of this episode, however, I should like to suggest the appearance in Jos.' version of what seems to be a clear reinterpretation of Gen. 13/10-12. Canaan in general, Hebron in particular, are the dwelling-place of Abraham in Genesis. Hebron in particular, but, in general, the "lowland left by the other" is the dwelling of Abraham in Jos. Hebron, furthermore, is a city more ancient than Tanis (i.e., Zoan) in Egypt. Hebron, which is brought in from Gen. 13/18 anyway, does not fit into "lowland," and the MT's remark "...like the land of Egypt, as one comes into Zoar" in Gen. 13/10 looks as though it might be where Jos. is getting his description of Hebron, changing of course Zoar to a reference to Zoan. There would seem, therefore, to be an exegetical tradition here which allows Lot to choose for "him" (Abraham) and not for "himself" that which he raises his eyes to see in 13/10, placing the emphasis on the fact that he *journeyed away* (from what he has seen), and that he settled in the *cities* of the plain. As a compliment to Lot's generosity or as an indication of preferential treatment by God, Abraham would be made to wind up with the part which is described as better.

Jos.' prelude to the matter of Genesis 14 is that, at that time, the Assyrians were masters of Asia, and the people of Sodom, whose wealth and youthful population had increased, were governed by five kings, each of whom ruled an individual province. The Assyrians, as will be seen, are a unit commanded by four generals. That the four separate kings of Genesis should be *Assyrians* Jos. has probably gotten from the name of the first of the four kingdoms mentioned in Genesis: Shinar. That they are all part of one army is his addition. Similarly, Sodom is not just a city but evidently the capital of a little empire of its own, and head of one of the provinces thereof. This type of not so subtle modernization of his material is something of a new course for Jos.

It is best to look at the Genesis narrative as falling into three parts: (1) the initial battle (1-12); (2) Abraham's reprisal attack (13-16); (3) events on return (17-24). The problem for many interpreters is to decide whether the first portion contains one battle or two battles. On the second hypothesis, verses 1-3 would narrate the first conquest of the five by the four, and verses 4-12 a punitive expedition which occurred after the five had rebelled. Jos. is not alone in adopting this second view.⁶

⁶ The tale of Genesis 14 is told in the *Genesis Apocryphon* in 21/23 through 22/26.

First of all, then, a four-part Assyrian army (the names of the “generals” not being given) marches out against the five (Balas, Balaiaš, Synabānēs, Symmoboros, and the king of the Balēni). A battle took place (locale not mentioned), and the victorious Assyrians imposed tribute on the kings of the Sodomites. This is Jos.’ version of Gen. 14/1-3. Our author may be well aware of the fact that the two battles are actually one, because the names of the four are withheld and no name is given to the place of battle — both items being elements held in common between 14/1-3 and 14/4-12.

Jos. continues that for twelve years the five submitted to serve and pay the appointed tribute, but rebelled in the thirteenth and an army of Assyrians marched off against them under Amarapsidēs, Ariochos, Chodolamoros and Thadalos. Jos does not mention the fact that this reprisal expedition took place in the year *after* the rebellion. He goes on to say that this army ravaged the whole of Syria and subdued the descendants of the giants! The MT’s *Rephaim* become “giants” in a good number of ancient versions, and with some reason.⁷ Whether Jos. is following another source or is making this judgement on his own, it is hard to say. Sensing perhaps the difficulty in this vis-à-vis the presumed destruction of the giants in the flood, he attempts to soften the contradiction, perhaps, by making them the descendants of the giants, which is no solution to the contradiction at all. Where “Syria” comes from is an open speculation.

The Assyrian army, on reaching the area of Sodom, camped in the vally called “Bitumen pits.” Jos. adds that there were such pits in the district at the time near Sodom, but the city is now gone and the valley a lake called “Asphaltitiš”, to which, he says, he will shortly revert. The direct mention of bitumen pits comes later in Gen. 14/10 in connection with the flight of the five. Jos. passes over the name “Siddim” altogether, having at hand both the association of the place with the “Salt Sea” (Gen. 14/3) and the name “Asphaltitis” by which this body of water was called. The major point of this bit of topology is the fact that the lake is not yet there.

The battle and its effects now follow. This bases itself upon the bare notice of Gen. 14/8-9, but Jos. adds that it was a stubborn contest (*karteras tēs machēs genomenēs*). He says that many of their number perished, though the MT simply says that some fell into the bitumen pits. The

It is clear from 21/23-26 that this source has chosen to tell the initial part of the tale as Jos. does.

⁷ So, in fact, read the LXX and the Targumim. The race in question was indeed famous for the great height of those who constituted it. It is odd nevertheless that Jos. speaks of them as the descendants of the giants. He is obviously having reference to the angel-offspring of Gen. 6/14. Aside from the fact that one would not expect any of this race to have survived the deluge, Jos., in the context of the JA where Gen. 6/1-4 is treated, does not call them giants but “sons who were overbearing and disdainful of every virtue” and *then* goes on to say that “the *deeds* that tradition ascribes to them *resemble* the audacious exploits told by the Greeks of the giants”.

rest who fled to the mountains, according to Genesis, are overlooked by Jos. who has the rest taken prisoner — a rendering more in line with what he will have to say of Lot. In Genesis, Lot is taken prisoner at the sacking of Sodom by the victorious forces, whereas Jos., in making him an active member of the Sodomite army, has him taken prisoner along with the rest who did not perish.

We now enter the second phase of the story: Abraham's raid. In Genesis, Abraham hears of the disaster from one who escaped and while living by the oaks of Mamre the Amorite who, with his brothers, were Abraham's allies. Jos. is consistent enough not to say how Abraham heard the news, since, according to his version, there were no fugitives. We shall not hear of the three allies until the end of the story when they take their share of the spoil. On hearing the news, however, Abraham is moved by fear for his kinsman and compassion for his neighbours and friends, the Sodomites — a detail which, while personalizing the narrative a bit, may be in line with what Jos. has in mind at the end of the episode when Abraham's virtue is directly commended by God.

The embroidery on the rest (Gen. 14/14-15) is slightly rhetorical. The bare details are that Abraham, hearing the news, led out 318 of his house-born men, pursued the enemy as far as Dan, divided his forces and fell on them by night, and, routing them, pursued them as far as Hobah which is north of Damascus.

To this Jos. adds Abraham's determination to come to the prisoners' assistance and his immediate departure. Caught up evidently in the immediacy of his own version, he by-passes the number of troops at this point and takes us immediately to the *neighbourhood* of Dan where the enemy is encountered on the fifth night. Dan, our author tells us, is the name of one of the Jordan's two sources.⁸ Instead of employing the strategic detail given by Genesis, however, Jos. chooses to develop the theme of the night attack. The enemy, surprised and having no time to arm, were either slain in their beds unconscious of their fate or, awake but too drunk to fight, were put to flight. The latter were chased as far as Genesis says they were.

The rest is dreary moralization. Abraham proved that victory did not depend on numbers but on the ardour and mettle of the combatants, seeing that he was accompanied only by 318 of his servants and his three friends and, nevertheless, defeated a great host. The survivors of the fugitives, we are told, returned ingloriously home.⁹ The style of

⁸ The last syllable of the name Arpachshad we have seen yield for Jos. an identification with Chaldaea (p. 115 of this investigation), and perhaps the same nexus was set up between "Naxos" and "Aschanaxēs" (pp. 105-106). Here the last syllable of Jordan has obviously suggested "Dan". *Bekoroth* (55a) also reports: "R. Hiyya b. Abba reported in the name of R. Johanan: Why is it called *Yarden*? Because it comes from Dan."

⁹ Several themes developed by Jos. also appear in PHILo (*De Abrahamo*, 232-

Genesis 14 is, as has been noted by critics, rather crude. In the third section of this episode of Abraham's career, the victorious leader brings back the spoil, Lot with his goods, the women and the people (Gen. 14/16). Then we have the mention of an encounter with the king of Sodom in the Valley of Shaveh (or King's Valley) in Gen. 14/17 which is immediately interrupted by the encounter with Melchizedek (Gen. 14/18-20). Thereafter, the interview with the king of Sodom continues to the end of the chapter (Gen. 14/21-24). Surprisingly, Jos. retains this somewhat awkward order.

Jos. mentions the rescue of only the human element among the Assyrian spoil. With them, Abraham returns in peace, says our author, and the king of the Sodomites met him on the "royal plain."

"And Melchizedek king of Salem brought out bread and wine; he was priest of God Most High." So Gen. 14/18 would have it. Jos. mentions the encounter, saying that the name of this man meant "righteous king" and that such he was by common consent inasmuch that for this reason he was also made priest of God. He adds that "Solyma" (Salem) was in fact the place afterwards called "Hierosolyma" and that this king entertained Abraham's army by providing abundantly for all their needs.

There is a certain exaggerative element present here. Bread and wine can scarcely even connote a banquet (which in fact it is meant to be in Jos.), and the necessity for accounting for Melchizedek's priesthood, even if it be through etymology, seems odd. The identification of Salem with Jerusalem, however, is a point upon which Jos. is not alone.¹⁰

During the feast, says Jos., the king began to extol Abraham and to bless God for having delivered his enemies into his hand. Afterwards, Abraham offered the king the tithe of the spoil and he accepted it. This is indeed the substance of Gen. 14/19-20, without, however, the element of offering and accepting.

The king of Sodom is now dealt with. It is the same, in fact, as Gen. 14/21-24. Jos. mentions for the first time the names of the three comrades in arms, though this is not their first appearance in Genesis, but does not include a nicety of the MT, namely, the appropriation of food for Abraham's followers.

In this whole episode Jos. carefully avoids putting anything into direct discourse. What follows is somewhat underscored by the fact that he allows a quoted communication to take place between God and Abraham.

234). The detail regarding the enemy's being surprised in bed is mentioned in 233, and Abraham's trust in other things besides numbers in 232. One thing upon which Philo and Jos. do not agree is the former's picture of the complete slaughter of the opposing force. Jos. allows for some survivors.

¹⁰ The *Targum Pseud. Jon.* and *Fragment Targum* (at Gen. 14/18) both make Melchizedek to be king of Jerusalem. This identification is contained in the Bible itself (Ps. 76/3) where Salem and Sion are used in conjunction and with reference to the same place. *Genesis Rabbah* (43/6 & 56/10) reflects this tradition as well.

More modern criticism than was at the disposal of Jos. has made of Genesis 15 a patchwork, but it does not need the enlightenment of a later day to discern how over-loaded with detail this portion of Genesis is. Of the twenty-one verses of the chapter, Jos. simply drops everything after verse 16, and excises verses 6 through 8. This, then, is his version.

In direct response to Abraham's generous gesture at the end of the war of the kings, and without any preliminary, God is said to have commended Abraham's virtue. It is in direct discourse and the substance of the commendation is Gen. 15/1, "rewards" being interpreted by Jos. as related to the good deeds which Abraham had just accomplished. Surprisingly, the dialogue actually continues. Abraham is made to say, in so many words, that there is no pleasure in rewards as long as he remains childless, for, as Jos. hastily adds, he still in fact was so. This response is again the substance of Gen. 15/2-3, but without the reference to Eliezer of Damascus, a slave born in Abraham's house. Thus far is the actual dialogue of Genesis reproduced by our author.

In alliance with the tenor of Gen. 15/4-5, God now announces that Abraham will have a son whose posterity will be so great as to compare with the number of the stars of heaven. All still remarkably close to the Genesis presentation, but without the frills.

Here there is a gap in Jos.' following of Genesis, due perhaps to the doubts expressed by Abraham at this juncture. Abraham is said by our author to have immediately offered a sacrifice (Gen. 15/10-11) as bidden by God (Gen. 15/9). In Genesis, the content of the sacrifice is prescribed directly by God; the mode of sacrificial slaughter actually carried out by Abraham is not so prescribed. Jos., in describing the content and the mode exactly as does the MT, nonetheless makes of them one united action carried out by Abraham at God's behest, thus implying that the mode also was God's command.

Jos. makes the prognostic theoloquy of Gen. 15/13-16 happen while birds of prey were flying to the scene lusting for the blood, and before the altar was erected. The first detail is based on Gen. 15/11, but the second seems to adumbrate an understanding of the smoking fire pot and flaming torch of Gen. 15/17 which accompanies a second theoloquy but which, together with that second divine communication, he will by-pass altogether. The first theoloquy is not in direct discourse and does *not* take place while Abraham is asleep.

The prophecy about the 400-year oppression with its victorious outcome specifies Egypt in Jos., and does not mention the wealth with which Abraham's descendants will emerge from oppression. The personal promises to Abraham himself are omitted, and the return of the posterity in the fourth generations because the iniquity of the Amorites is not yet complete is transmuted into the promise of the defeat of the Canaanites

in battle and the taking possession of their cities. This last is rather an echo of the second theoloquy which Jos. will not include.

This episode is consistent with Jos.' policy of repressing all reference to a permanent possession of the land as promised and guaranteed by God. He has omitted it from his version of chapters twelve and thirteen and has done so here quite noticeably. The circumstances of Jos.' own life and times may have contributed more than a little to this seemingly deliberate silence on a point which might have delicate political consequences.

As we have seen, Jos. has omitted an account of Gen. 15/6-8. Verse 7 of this group has special reference to the gift of the land as a possession and, as remarked, this is not a popular theme with our author. But it also makes reference to the Providence which brought Abraham out of Ur, and, in this connection, this verse becomes the basis for the inclusion of an element at the beginning of the Hagar story which follows. Determination to account for this idea, but its removal from its original context, is curious and may point to Jos.' knowledge of a tradition which makes this whole series of theoloquies occur before Abraham left Ur. The swift transition from the end of Genesis 14 into the matter of Genesis 15, without preliminary or any scene-setting at all, might indicate also that the episode is being placed here in accordance with the order of the MT rather than in compliance with a tradition which indicated its occurrence on another occasion.¹¹

(c)

The circumstances surrounding the birth of Ishmael (Genesis 16) and the promise of a son by Sarah (Genesis 17) are not as closely connected to each other in Jos. as are the foregoing three chapters, but they are made to lead from one to the other by our author, and their likeness of subject-matter as well as the general de-emphasis of the other themes of Genesis 17 make it convenient to treat of them together. Jos.' version of these chapters forms an interlude between the two stories relating Abraham to the history of the Sodomites.

The scene is set by placing Abraham near the oak called Ogyges which is in Canaan and not far from the city of the Hebronites. He is distressed at his wife's infertility and prays for the birth of a male child, whereupon God assures him that as he had been led out of Mesopotamia for his own welfare (cf. Gen. 15/7) in all else, so also children would come to him. By God's command, Sarah brings one of her handmaids, the Egyptian Hagar, to Abraham that he may have children by her.¹²

¹¹ According to *Seder Olam Rabbah* (Ch. 1), the events of Genesis 15 happened when Abraham was seventy years old and still living in Ur.

¹² Later, in Gen. 21/12, Sarah's desires with regard to the disposition of Hagar receive divine backing, and it may be this that Jos. is projecting into the present

This is the first time Jos. even refers to the oaks of Mamre, though Genesis has already mentioned them twice. What is being implied by "Ogyges" should probably be sought in a remark dropped by Jos. in *The Jewish War* (VI/533), whereby we have here merely a reference to the age of the tree.¹³ Genesis does not mention Abraham's distress in this context, though this has been a major theme of Genesis 15. In fact, what God tells Abraham is lifted directly from that foregoing chapter. In Genesis, Sarah is the one who is distressed and who is the source of the plan to have children by Hagar.

Making no reference to the chronology of this event, Jos. goes on to narrate Hagar's pregnancy, her contempt for Sarah, Abraham's deliverance of Hagar to Sarah, Hagar's harsh treatment, and her subsequent flight. Hagar's contempt for Sarah is described as the assumption of queenly airs inspired by the supposition that the dominion would pass to her unborn son. Sarah's complaint is omitted, as though Abraham took the initiative in righting the situation, and Hagar is consigned to Sarah for punishment. In her flight, Hagar entreats God to have pity on her. This petition is necessary for Ishmael's eventual naming.

Evidently Jos. considers the locale of the encounter with the angel superfluous, and also mentions no dialogue. The angel's message is narrated rather than quoted; it is straightforward and moralizingly rhetorical. Hagar is told to go home (Gen. 16/9). Hagar would be better off, she and we are told, through exercise of self-control for her present lot was but due to arrogance and presumption toward her mistress. Hagar is offered a choice: disobey God and pursue your way, and you will perish; return, and become the mother of a son who will afterwards rule over that country.

Genesis offers Hagar no choice, but it does promise her enormous numbers of descendants which is evidently not to our author's taste. Also not to his taste is the description of the future Ishmael, whose dwelling "over against all his kinsmen" may have been taken by Jos. to mean "rulership." Neither the naming of God by Hagar, nor the place-name which was its result, is found in Jos.

Hagar now returns in obedience to the command, is forgiven and soon after gives birth to Ishmael which Jos. says, means "Heard of God" (*Theoklytos*) because God had hearkened to her petition. That the name

context. Nevertheless, Sarah is listed among the seven prophetesses in *Megillah* (14a), the other six being Miriam, Deborah, Hannah, Abigail, Hulda and Esther. *Genesis Rabbah* (45/2) says that Abraham, hearkening to Sarah in the present context, was in fact hearkening to the voice of the Holy Spirit.

¹³ In the stated reference from the *BJ* Jos. says: "At a distance of six furlongs from the town [i.e., Hebron] there is also shown a huge terebinth tree which is said to have stood there ever since the creation." Ogygos was a primeval king, possibly of Boeotia (cf. PAUSANIAS, 9/5/1) in whose time a deluge was supposed to have occurred. An adjective derived from his name denotes "primeval; antediluvian" in Greek.

was commanded by the angel and given by Abraham are, for Jos., details he does not wish to include. Her forgiveness is a compliment to Abraham and Sarah unknown to Genesis.

A remark on the age of Abraham closes Genesis 16, and opens Genesis 17. These two chronological indications are fused to form a prologue for the next episode: Abraham was eighty-six when Ishmael was born, and ninety-nine when God appeared to him.

The notion of eternal covenant has little meaning for Jos., so that the matter of Genesis 17 has little theological tone in his version of it.

In Genesis, God addresses Abraham three times, the first of which (within Gen. 17/1-3) is omitted by Jos. altogether. The chief points of the second communication (Gen. 17/3-16) are the eternal covenant with Abraham (including a name-change), the sign of the covenant (circumcision), the promise of a son to Sarah (including a name-change). Abraham at this juncture interrupts with an expression of incredulity regarding the birth of a son to Sarah and with a plea for Ishmael. The third communication (Gen. 17/19-21) returns to the theme of Isaac (including the name "Isaac" itself), gives promises for Ishmael, and concludes with naming the time of Isaac's birth.

Jos. goes straight to the point of the third communication: Sarah will bear a son, to be called "Isaac," from whom great nations and kings will come, and these shall win possession by war of all Canaan from Sidon to Egypt. All these promises respecting progeny are mentioned in Genesis only with regard to Abraham in the second communication, but are here applied to Isaac in virtue, evidently, of his being the heir of Abraham's covenant (Gen. 17/19).

With the command to circumcise we return to the matter of the second communication again. Jos. says it was to be performed on the eighth day after birth (Gen. 17/12), the reason being not the signification of the covenant but the prevention of the mingling of the posterity with other races. Somewhat unexpectedly, Jos. adds the "footnote" that the reason for the Jewish practice of circumcision he will expound elsewhere, as though what he had said were not quite sufficient explication.

Abraham is now made to inquire about Ishmael, his disbelief over the matter of Isaac's birth being omitted. The inquiry is *whether* Ishmael is to live. The response is that Ishmael will live to old age and be the father of great nations.

Thus the colloquy closes. Abraham gives thanks to God and, as in Genesis, is circumcised at the age of ninety-nine, together with his household and Ishmael, who is then thirteen.

Missing most obviously are the changing of the two names,¹⁴ and the

¹⁴ Jos. does not ordinarily balk at speaking of a name-change (Jacob to Israel, JA I/333; Joseph to Zephenathpaneah, JA II/91). But, from the very beginning of his inclusion of them in his narrative, Abram/Abraham has always been either *Habramos*

prediction of the time of Isaac's birth. God's covenant with Abraham and with his descendants to be their God is not a part of Jos.' religious purview. The eternal possession of Canaan is transmuted into a promise of future victory in war, the detail "from Sidon to Egypt" being added by our author. Circumcision is given, moreover, a somewhat rationalized significance. The prosaic narration of the whole encounter is curiously concluded with a pious act on the part of Abraham, allowing this, as it were, to replace the fundamental greatness and uniqueness in the history of religion which this whole chapter attributes to the Father of Believers. In the hands of Jos., the central importance of his central figure is reduced to the point where one wonders whether Jos. really knew what he was doing.

(d)

The second and final story about the Sodomites now follows. Chapters eighteen and nineteen of Genesis form a natural unit in any case, but Jos. makes this unity even tighter. He has anticipated this episode by making references to it in his version of Genesis 13 and 14.¹⁵

Jos. starts off by a somewhat celebrated characterization of the inhabitants of Sodom. These men were proud both of their numbers and the extent of their wealth.¹⁶ They showed themselves insolent to men¹⁷ and impious to God by not remembering the benefits they had received

or *Abramos* for Jos., and Sarai/Sarah always *Sarra*. In PHILO (*De Mut.*, 60-62) it is remarked that these two name-changes have been the cause of scoffing among "quarrelsome and captious" people. It is to be wondered whether Jos. had this in mind when he simply by-passes any mention of this matter altogether.

¹⁵ We have therefore already heard that Lot settled not far from the city of Sodom "which was then prosperous but has now by God's will been obliterated", Jos. going on to promise he will indicate in its place the cause of its fate (*JA* I/170). In narrating Genesis 14 Jos states at the very beginning that the Sodomites were in a flourishing condition, their wealth having grown and their youth being numerous (*JA* I/171); and, when mentioning the valley called "Bitumen Pits" within the same narrative framework, he states that "at that time there were pits in that district, but now that the city of Sodom has disappeared the valley has become a lake, the so-called Asphaltitis" (*JA* I/174).

¹⁶ Indeed, the wealth of the Sodomites (to which Jos. has called attention previously — cf. preceding footnote) seems to have been virtually proverbial. Ezekiel (16/49) knew of it: "Behold this was the guilt of your sister Sodom; she and her daughters had pride, surfeit of food, and prosperous ease, but did not aid the poor and needy." *Sanhedrin* (109a) says: "Our Rabbis taught that 'the men of Sodom waxed haughty only on account of the good which the Holy One, blessed be He, had lavished upon them'." *Pirke deRabbi Eliezer* (Ch. 25) takes its turn with: "The men of Sodom were wealthy men of prosperity on account of the good and fruitful land whereon they dwelt. For every need which the world requires they obtained therefrom". Finally, PHILO (*De Abrahamo*, 134) must add his witness: "The inhabitants (of Sodom) owed this extreme license to the never-failing lavishness of their sources of wealth, etc."

¹⁷ *Pirke deRabbi Eliezer* (Ch. 25) dwells also upon the Sodomites' security whereby they lived at ease and without either care or the fear of war from all their surroundings. There is also a long disquisition on the treatment given to the needy and the poor (cf. Ezekiel 16/49); in fact, the Sodomites were said to have forbidden under pain of death the helping of the unfortunate.

from Him and by their treatment of strangers, for they hated foreigners and declined all association with others.¹⁸ God resolves not only to chastise them but to uproot their city in such a fashion that the whole land would no longer yield either plant or fruit. God has already pronounced this doom, says Jos. as he begins to narrate the events to Genesis 18.

Almost every point Jos. mentions finds parallels elsewhere, not least in the writings of Philo. These themes, however, are not new even to Jos. Those dispersed from the tower were also gifted with a flourishing population as well as a youthful one — the latter detail having been applied also to the Sodomites by Jos. in a different context. The resolution of God sounds very much like the resolution taken at the beginning of the flood. Most noteworthy about Jos.' picture, however, is the omission of the mention of the one vice for which Sodom has become a by-word. The reference is made later and quite delicately.¹⁹

It is best to view the angelic visitation of Abraham, which forms the first part of this episode, specifically from the point of view which our author adopts — that is, to divide the text not according to the pace set by Genesis, but according to that set by Jos. himself. Doing this, we find that Jos.' coverage first deals with Gen. 18/1-12: everything up to and including the laughter of Sarah. But, the two following sections (18/13-15 and 16-21) are combined into a unit which both abbreviates and changes their content. Finally, we have Abraham's plea for the doomed and the response of God thereto (Gen. 18/22-33).

Abraham, says Jos., was sitting before the door of his courtyard (*aulē*) near the oak of Mamre when he saw three angels whom he took for strangers. He rose, saluted them, and invited them to lodge and share his hospitality. They consented. The identity of the three is revealed only bit by bit in Genesis. The Lord would *appear* to be one of them, as begins to be intimated at Gen. 18/13 in the MT. That there are (two) *angels* in the group is not specifically stated before Gen. 19/1. For Jos., they are all angels, and he wishes us to know this at once. All the niceties of the Hebrew in its directly quoting Abraham's hospitable invitation are lost in Jos.' drab synthesis.

¹⁸ Two examples of this tradition must be cited. *Sanhedrin* (109a) puts it: "They (the Sodomites) said: 'Since there cometh forth bread out of (our) earth and it hath the dust of gold, why should we suffer wayfarers, who come to us only to deplete our wealth. Come, let us abolish the practice of travelling in our land, etc.'". *Pirke deRabbi Eliezer* (Ch. 25) maintains that the men of Sodom fenced in the trees on the top so that no wayfarer or stranger (not even a bird) could get at the fruit. The same source says that the Sodomites appointed lying judges who would oppress by their perverse judgment any stranger entering their city.

¹⁹ Cf. JA I/200: "But the Sodomites, on seeing these young men of remarkably fair appearance whom Lot had taken under his roof, were bent only on violence and outrage to their youthful beauty." The context of this passage is discussed on pp. 144-145 of this investigation. It is pointless to multiply the witnesses respecting what seems to be the clear meaning of the MT. Worthy of note, however, are: PHILLO's *De Abrahamo* (135-136); *Book of Jubilees* (16/5); *Genesis Rabbah* (50/7).

The service Abraham rendered to his guests has no named assistants in Jos.; the host merely "orders" cakes, and prepares the meat himself. In Genesis, the guests recline under the tree, which Jos. calls the oak — a turn which chimes in nicely with his insistence on never referring to the oaks of Mamre in the plural. But these guests, says our author, gave Abraham merely to believe that they ate.²⁰ Jos. omits the curds and milk from the menu, and Abraham's kind attendance during the meal is also not mentioned.

The strangers, as in Genesis, now inquire after Sarah and are told that she is within. They then declare that one day they will return and find that she is a mother, whereat Sarah, whom Jos. suddenly seems to presume to be present, smiles and says that child-bearing for her is impossible since she is ninety and Abraham one hundred years old. Jos. may be forgiven the sudden introduction of the presence of Sarah in the light of the fact that Genesis itself does this same thing just a bit further on (Gen. 18/15).

By Gen. 18/10 it is becoming obvious that only one of the three is speaking about Sarah and the future birth, but Jos. keeps the strangers' conversation a shared one. Sarah is brought out into the open, as are her amusement and her thoughts. The bit of chronology which Jos. places in her mouth makes the scene of Genesis 18 take place in the year following the events narrated in Genesis 17.²¹

At this juncture Jos. combines two sections of Genesis. The first (Gen. 18/13-15) portrays the one speaking as having the ability to foretell the birth by manifesting his power to read Sarah's actions and thoughts while she is absent. The second (Gen. 18/16-21) has the Lord reveal to Abraham His impending visitation of Sodom. The first of these is subtle, the second somewhat lengthy; Jos.' version is neither. All that is said is that the strangers can maintain dissimulation no longer and confess they are messengers of God, one of whom has come to announce the news of the child, the other two to destroy the Sodomites. This is in keeping with Genesis to the extent that therein only one *does* in fact announce the coming birth, and only two in fact *do* make that visitation of Sodom

²⁰ At Gen. 18/8, *Targum Neofiti* states that "they seemed to be eating and drinking". PHILO too (*De Abrahamo*, 118) says virtually the same: "It is a marvel indeed that though they neither ate nor drank they gave the appearance of both eating and drinking". *Genesis Rabbah* (48/14 asks: "Did they then eat?" to which it responds: "They pretended to eat, removing each course in turn". *Kohelet Rabbah* (3/14) attests the same, adding the nuance that the courses "disappeared".

²¹ In Genesis 17 it is stated twice (17/1 and 24) that Abraham was ninety-nine when the events of that chapter took place. It is also said in 17/17: "Shall a child be born to a man who is a hundred years old? Shall Sarah, who is ninety years old, bear a child?". From the entire context it is obvious that Abraham is projecting imaginatively the situation a year thence when the promised child would be born, he himself would be one hundred, and Sarah would be ninety. There was, therefore, ten years difference in their ages. In the context of Genesis 18, Jos. makes Sarah say that *at that time* she is ninety and Abraham one hundred.

which is foretold at this point. Jos., however, is inconsistent in his portrayal of this division of tasks in not having in fact allowed *one* of the three to announce the birth at all.²²

Abraham is now grieved for the men of Sodom, and, arising, makes supplication to God, imploring Him not to destroy the just and good along with the wicked (Gen. 18/23). To which God responds that there are no good in Sodom for if there were but ten He would remit the punishment (Gen. 18/32), and so Abraham holds his peace (Gen. 18/33?).

Jos. puts this dialogue into a prayer directed to God and *not* to one of the visitants. This has in common with the Genesis version the fact that it was indeed God who was speaking, but departs therefrom in not giving the impression that God was one of the three. The whole passage was obviously too long for Jos. to include, so we jump from its beginning immediately to its end.

Jos. is clearly determined to keep the angels distinct from God — an item over which the MT does not take much trouble. His version of the passage, however, is in general quite inferior to what we have in Genesis. There is so much that is personal and convincing about the character of Abraham that is here overlooked by our author that one may well wonder, as we have done previously, how much Jos. was really aware of the potentialities of the material at his disposal.

The rest of the story is also told in three parts: the stay of the angels with Lot in Sodom (Gen. 19/1-14); flight of Lot with his family and the city's destruction (19/15-29); Lot's existence after his escape (19/30-38). Genesis represents the scene of section one as taking place in the evening, while the events of section two follow the next morning. In Jos., the events follow each other without this temporal break.

Jos.' version of the first section is much the same as in Genesis. There is no hesitation on the part of the guests to accept Lot's hospitality in Jos., and he represents Lot's consideration as a lesson learned from Abraham.²³ The attack of the Sodomites, though not as vividly told by

²² The division of mission among the three guests of Abraham is a tradition which appears elsewhere. PHILLO (*De Abrahamo*, 142-146) evidently knows of it for he says that, in his opinion, the one that did not go on to Sodom was "the truly Existent, who held it fitting that He should be present to give good gifts by His own agency but should leave the execution of the opposite of good entirely in the hands of His potencies acting as His ministers, that so He might appear to be the cause of good only, but not directly the cause of anything evil." *Genesis Rabbah* (50/2) has Michael announce his tidings to Abraham and then depart, Gabriel overturn Sodom, and Raphael rescue Lot. This threefold division (without proper names attached) is given in both *Targum Pseud. Jon.* and the *Fragment Targum* (at Gen. 18/2) together with the principle which *Genesis Rabbah* also enunciates: no ministering angel can be sent for more than one purpose at a time. The angelic names are included in the tradition mediated by *Baba Metzia* (86b) where, however, the mission of Raphael is to heal Abraham (after his circumcision).

²³ "Another explanation: 'He who walketh with wise men shall be wise.' This refers to Lot who walked with our father Abraham and learned of his good deeds

our author as by the dialogue style of Genesis, manages to project all the details which the canonical text would have us know. As a result of the attack, however, Jos. has God become enraged and He, instead of the angels, strikes the Sodomites blind so that they cannot find the door. Again, the vividness of Genesis, where the angels reach out and pull Lot back into the house, evaporates into a direct intervention by God Who now, says Jos., condemned Sodom to an entire-populace-embracing destruction. Lot is then warned of the impending doom.

It is odd that Jos. makes God come to His decision at this point, since he has already said the Sodomites were doomed even before the angelic visitation of Abraham. But Gen. 18/16-21, which our author has effectively by-passed, suggests that divine justice is awaiting the investigation of the charges against Sodom, and it is perhaps this passage that has formed Jos.' view of the present scene.

Jos. joins the warning issued to the prospective sons-in-law, and its neglect, to the next section.

Now Lot immediately takes flight with his family, Jos., in underscoring the virginity of the daughters, also taking the opportunity to mention the incredulity of their suitors whom Lot had warned. The departure leaves, as has been noted, no time for a night to elapse and mentions nothing about Lot's last minute tergiversation. We will not hear about the warning against turning back until the consequences of doing so have eventually taken place. Jos. also omits Lot's effective plea for the saving of Zoar.

After Lot's departure God hurled His bolt upon the city, razing it and destroying its inhabitants in a fashion similar, says our author, to that he himself has narrated in the account of *The Jewish War*. Jos. has Lot's wife, contrary to the prohibition of which we first hear now, *continually* turning back out of curiosity, thus meriting her classic fate, the evidence of which, says Jos., can be seen until his day because he himself has seen it.²⁴ Abraham's observance of the events from a distance is omitted, as well as the fact that it was for Abraham's sake that Lot was saved.

Jos. seems to wish to make the divine penalty meted out to Lot's wife somewhat less harsh by making her do what was forbidden more than once and out of the idleness of curiosity.

Lot finds refuge with his daughters in a tiny spot forming an oasis

and ways. They said: 'What did our father Abraham do? He made for himself a house opposite to Haran and he received everyone who entered into or went out from Haran, and he gave him to eat and to drink.' Thus is the derivation of Lot's courtesy rationalized by *Pirke deRabbi Eliezer* (Ch. 25). The same sentiment is more briefly expressed by *Genesis Rabbah* (50/4).

²⁴ Jos.' statement about the pillar of salt is based on his own experience of the phenomenon so that other literary witnesses to the existence of the object are unnecessary. For a sampling of those who also claim that the pillar continues to stand, cf. S. RAPPAPORT, *Agada und Exegese*... (Frankfurt a. M.: 1930), footnote 99, pp. 105-106.

in the flames, this place still being called "Zōōr" which, in Hebrew, means "little."²⁵ There, continues Jos., isolated from mankind and lacking food, Lot passed a miserable existence. Jos. thus transposes to this juncture of his version all that had previously been said of Zoar in Genesis (19/18-23) excepting Lot's plea to save this place from destruction and his arrival there before the destruction of Sodom. In the last point, our author is showing perhaps a concern for chronological sequence which Genesis does not, if we consider that Lot's wife met her end on the way to the place of refuge and not after having arrived. In Jos., Lot does not leave Zoar to live in a cave in the hills (Gen. 19/30), but he seems to derive his description of life in the place of refuge from the kind of existence Lot would be supposed to be leading in the cave of the Genesis account. The isolation from mankind is, as we shall see, a significant detail.

Jos. would have it that Lot's maiden daughters were convinced that the whole of humanity was destroyed so, acting to prevent the extinction of the race and taking care to elude detection, they had intercourse with Lot.²⁶ Moab, born to the elder, means "of the father"; Ammon (Jos.: Amman), born to the younger, means "son of the race." They were the ancestors of the Moabites and Ammonites (Jos.: Ammanites) respectively, both of which peoples inhabit Coele-Syria. And thus, concludes Jos., was the manner of Lot's escape from the Sodomites.

For Jos., Zoar is obviously a city only *after* the time of Lot, and his treatment of its mention in the various contexts of Genesis 19 conforms to this notion. It is merely a spot, an "oasis in the flames" as he says. The motive for perpetuation of the race need not have been invented by Jos. to save the reputation of the daughters, for Genesis has them say: "... there is not a man on earth to come into us after the manner of all the earth." Lot's reputation is saved by the device the girls invent to escape detection, but this too is recorded in Genesis, Jos. not troubling to tell us what the device actually was.

Jos. etymologizes "Moab" from *mēhâ'âb*, and "Amman" presumably from the name Genesis gives this man: "Ben-ammi." But his accounting for "Ben-ammi" is not exact. In this material our author is more than

²⁵ In the MT the name of the city Zoar (*šō'ar*) as found in Gen. 19/22 is meant to derive from the word for "small quantity" (*miš'ār*) used twice by Lot in referring to it in Gen. 19/20. Jos. calls the spot, in his Greek spelling, *Zōōr*, saying that this is the Hebrew word for "little" (*to oligon*) and intimating that it was appropriate because the place was a tiny one (*brachy ti chōrion*). Jos. is thus deriving his etymology from an adjective (perhaps the Hebrew *ša'ir*) but the Targumim do the same (*Onkelos* and *Neofiti*: *z'ērā*; *Pseud. Jon.*: *šibhar*).

²⁶ And so *Genesis Rabbah* (51/8): "They thought that the whole world was destroyed as in the generation of the flood." But this, as J. SKINNER remarks (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis* (Edinburgh: 1910), p. 309), is the interpretation which even modern criticism considers to be the more likely meaning of the words of Lot's older daughter quoted in Gen. 19/31 (cf. the following paragraph in the main body of this investigation).

probably inspired by the LXX which, however, he does not follow even where it is more accurate.²⁷

Genesis makes a point of the survival of both Moabites and Ammonites "to this day," and Jos. accounts for this by placing them as peoples of Coele-Syria, a topographical designation which seems to have had rather a broad application.²⁸

(e)

Abraham's relations with Abimelech occupy two sections in Genesis: 20/1-18 (a repetition of the deception story, one version of which has been given in Gen. 12/10-20) and 21/22-32 (the account of the covenant between the two men at Beersheba). Jos. will combine these two sections, narrating the first at some length but reducing the second to a mere notice. Verses 33-34 of Genesis 21 receive no mention at all.

To deal more expeditiously with the matters in hand, the same method will be used as previously, outlining the three versions of Genesis and referring to each in our text by the Roman numeral.²⁹

— 1 —

A. goes to Egypt; famine is cause.

A. goes to Gerar.

I. goes to Gerar; 2nd famine cause; God forbids Egypt.

— 2 —

Prearrangement for deception.

A. says S. is sister (revealed later: she is; deception prearranged; cf. 10c & d).

I. says R. is sister, when asked.

— 3 —

Motive: fear for life from Egyptians; S.'s beauty.

(Revealed later: motive was fear of being killed; no fear of God in Gerar; cf. 10a & b).

Motive: fear for life from men of the place; R.'s beauty.

— 4 —

S. is praised to, and then taken by, the king.

S. is taken by the king (revealed later: marital relations excluded; cf. 7c).

— — — — —

²⁷ The MT gives no etymologies for the names but the LXX explains Moab as *ek tou patros mou*, and Ben-ammi (whom it calls *Amman*) as *huios tou genous mou*. Jos. explains the first as *tis apo patros*, and the second (which he gives as *Ammanos*) as *genous huios* (dropping the possessive pronoun).

²⁸ H. St.J. THACKERAY quotes G. A. SMITH (*Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, p. 538) as saying that "to Josephus, Coele-Syria is all Eastern Palestine". Cf. H. St.J. THACKERAY, *Josephus with an English Translation* (9 vols.; London-Cambridge, Mass.: 1930), IV, 103.

²⁹ Cf. pp. 127 through 132 of this investigation.

The MT's details about the place to which Abraham now migrated are reduced simply to "Gerara in Philistia". This is indeed a piece cut from the account of Isaac's deception of Abimelech in Gen. 26/1-11, where Philistia is brought in (anachronistically!) by denominating Abimelech "king of the Philistines."

Among the preliminaries, Jos. follows II in assigning no particular motive for this migration and in mentioning that Abraham simply declared the brother-sister relationship without plotting this with Sarah, adding, however, that this dissimulation was the same as the one before. I think it clear that Jos. is thinking of the crisis over Sarah as not having been foreseen, but as arising *after* the arrival. For, as in III, there is no pre-arrangement *at all* made between Sarah and Abraham in Jos.' present retelling of II, and the motive of fear, which is not mentioned specifically until much later in II,³⁰ is brought in at this juncture and tied up with Abimelech *personally*, the reason given being that Abimelech had conceived a passion for Sarah and was on the point of seducing her. This pause between desire and execution chimes in more with I than with II.

As in Jos.' retelling of I, however, the king is only on the point of taking Sarah when something happens to stop him.

	(5)	
A. receives gifts.	— — — — —	— — — — —
	(6)	
Plague from God on king and house.	(Revealed later: king was afflicted with disease; his house with barrenness; cf. 12a & b).	— — — — —

Jos. says that the king was restrained from his lustful enterprise by a disease so grievous that the physicians had despaired of his life. This is not Genesis at all in the omission of the affliction of others besides the king. Our author is following I, however, in the insertion of the mention of the affliction of the disease *at this point*.³¹ The seriousness of the illness, expressed by Jos. in the despair of the physicians, may be drawn from the first words of the MT's version of the subsequent dream-vision: "Behold, you are a dead man."

³⁰ The narrative of Genesis 20 is distinguished by displacing events from their chronological order and mentioning them at a later stage of the story's development so that much of what is said is "flash-back".

³¹ Cf. p. 129 of this investigation and/or footnote 2 of this chapter.

— 7 —

Cause of plague is
discovered.

Theology in king's
dream: a. threat; b.
identity of S.; (c. S's
chastity;) d. king's in-
nocence; e. God aware,
and cause, of king's
innocence; f. com-
mand to restore; g. A.
is prophet and healer;
h. threat.

King discovers the
identity of R. by visual
evidence.

— 8 —

— — — — —

King tells his servants
of dream; they become
afraid.

— — — — —

At this juncture Abimelech sees in a dream a vision (God is not mentioned) admonishing him to do no outrage to the stranger's wife. Beginning to recover, he tells his friends that it was God who brought the malady upon him to vindicate the rights of a guest and preserve the honour of a woman who was wife and not sister, and that God has promised to show Himself gracious hereafter if Abraham is reassured concerning his wife. His friends then tell him to send for Abraham.

This reproduces the dream-vision of II fairly well, though the narration of most of the content of the vision is put into the recounting of it to the king's friends, and the rôle of God in all of it is slightly underplayed. Most of the elements of the dream-vision are accounted for saving: the clear threat (twice mentioned in Genesis); the rôle of Abraham as the actual healer of the king. Sarah's *de facto* chastity, the king's innocence, and the necessity to restore Sarah are all unnecessary in the light of the fact that Jos. maintains she was never taken from Abraham to begin with, much less violated.

Some details are changed. The fact that the king began to recover before telling his friends what had occurred might be based on the Genesis remark that after the dream, Abimelech "rose early in the morning." This is also in harmony with Jos.' seeming intention of depriving Abraham of his rôle of healer. The fear of the king's servants, however, is transmuted by Jos. into the advice of his friends.

— 9 —		
A. is severely reprovod.	A. is reprovod.	I. is reprovod.
— 10 —		
— — — — —	A. explains: a. motive was fear for life; b. no fear of God in Gerar; c. S. is his sister; d. deception was by prearrangement.	I. explains: fear of being killed.
— 11 —		
A. and S. are expelled from Egypt.	S. is restored; A. is given presents, freedom of land, indemnity; S. told of the indemnity.	King tells I. his reason for concern over the deception; warning published protecting I. and R.
— 12 —		
— — — — —	A.'s prayers: a. heal the king's disease; b. cure barrenness of household.	— — — — —

The speech of reproof to Abraham (theme 9 in the series describing the development of the plot in Genesis) is changed into a speech which draws for its sources from both the dream-vision and from theme 11 — the speech of Abimelech which follows Abraham's "explanation".

Abraham is assured that he need have no further fear for his wife, for God was watching over him and through His help and protection Abraham would receive her back (!) inviolate, as both God and the woman could testify. The king is made to say he would never have desired her had he known she was Abraham's wife, and, having thought her Abraham's sister, he had done no wrong. He then begs Abraham to be indulgent and impetrate God's favour.

Jos. seems to be so intent on incorporating all this from the dream-vision, that he has not noticed the contradiction arising from the assurance that Sarah would be *returned*. The plea for conciliating God is a pale reflection of the condition laid down in the dream-vision that Abraham would pray for Abimelech and effect his healing.

The rest of the king's speech is from theme 11. Abraham has liberty to stay or depart; if the former, he will have abundance of everything; if the latter, he will have an escort and be equipped with all that he was seeking in coming to Gerar. Though this is not exactly Genesis, it has the general spirit present in the granting of the freedom of the land and in the indemnity.

Abraham's response reveals the fact that Sarah is his brother's child, that he felt unsafe in the country without practising the dissimulation, and that he would gladly stay with the king to show he was not responsible for the king's illness but anxious for his recovery.

This is mostly what II gives. Jos. has Abraham diplomatically omit mention of the absence of all fear of God in Gerar. The omission of *all* prearrangement between the husband and wife has already been dealt with. The exact meaning of the motive Jos. gives for Abraham's staying on with Abimelech is not clear. We have already been told by our author that the king had begun to recover at the time he told his friends of the dream. This may be Jos.' odd way of accounting for theme 12 of II.

Abraham is assigned land and riches as a consequence of all this. Thus, with theme 11, does Jos. end this second account of Abraham's deliberate practice of deception regarding his wife's identity.

As noted at the beginning of this section, an account of Gen. 21/22-32 is added now. These eleven verses are reduced to a brief statement: Abimelech and Abraham covenanted to deal honestly with each other and swore an oath over a well which they call "Bersubai," that is, "well of the oath," even to our author's own day.

This chapter ends virtually where it began by reviewing the story of deception as perpetrated by Abraham. This is well, because it underscores nicely enough one of our author's evident penchants: the use of his text to explain his text.

CHAPTER 5: Son of Promise

Isaac is unquestionably a major figure in the History of the Patriarchs, but it has become common to call him "shadowy" because his actual appearance in Genesis is subjoined either to the episodes of his father's life or to the history of his sons (which begins in effect at Gen. 25/19). Jos., in a way, pays passing tribute to Isaac by making two of the Abrahamic episodes which deal with events in Isaac's history into specially developed literary efforts.

The present chapter (*JA* I/213-256) will be dealt with in three parts. The first treats of the birth of Isaac and the subsequent displacement of Hagar and her son. The second will examine Jos.' version of Genesis 22 (the attempted sacrifice of Isaac), and the last will cover everything from the death of Sarah to the death of Abraham.

Of special interest is the tendency of our author to moralize. He does this especially when directly quoting or when giving the content of the conversation of a particular person. We have seen this tendency at work before, but up to the present there has for the most part been at least some warrant in the text of Genesis for this type of approach. In the various contexts of which we are about to treat there is little or no such warrant.

One wonders whether we are entering an area where either Jos. is abandoning tradition, or tradition is abandoning him.

(a)

Chapter 21 of Genesis contains the birth of Isaac (1-7), the subsequent expulsion of Ishmael and Hagar (8-21), Abraham's covenant with Abimelech (22-32), and two final verses which describe the planting of a (sacred) tamarisk and the lengthy sojourn of Abraham among the Philistines, respectively. The last two verses being omitted, and the Abimelech material having been transferred to a different context, we are left with but the first two sections. These Jos. will now undertake to retell. To the Hagar-Ishmael story, however, he subjoins the Ishmaelite genealogy (which appears in Genesis at 25/12-18).

The birth of Isaac, as Genesis presents it, is a simple account of the fulfillment of God's promise in the conception and birth of a son to Abraham by Sarah. Abraham calls him "Isaac" and has him circumcised

on the eighth day according to God's command. At Isaac's birth Abraham was one hundred years old. In the Genesis presentation we find Sarah quoted at this juncture in a fashion which is meant to give an indication of why the child was called by the name he in fact received.

Jos. gives the substance of all this, but sets it in what seems to be a chronological framework of his own, making the most of the remark of Gen. 21/2: ". . . at the time of which God had spoken." This seems to have meant for Jos. the prediction as recorded in Genesis 18 specifically, for in assigning to Sarah (as does Genesis also in the present context) the ultimate reason why Abraham named his son Isaac, our author returns rather to her smile of incredulity as he records it in the episode of the angelic visitation and by-passes mentioning that what Sarah said at the birth of her son could also form the basis for his name. Her smile, Jos. recalls, was prompted by the fact that at the time she was ninety and Abraham one hundred years of age.

This last detail deserves at least some comment, for Jos. has by now mentioned twice the fact that at the angelic visitation Sarah was ninety and Abraham was one hundred. After recalling this fact in the present context, Jos. adds the cryptic remark that a child was born *hekaterōn tōi hustatōi etei*. I should venture to interpret this along with Thackeray and Weill as meaning: a child was born of both in the year following (the prediction).¹ But this would at least hint that Sarah was ninety-one and Abraham one hundred and one at the time of Isaac's birth, such an age for Abraham being in contradiction to the chronological indication of Gen. 21/5.

It is hard to know what Jos. made of Abraham's own laugh of incredulity (Gen. 17/17) over the birth of a son to a man who is one hundred and a woman who is ninety, for Jos. omits accounting for this verse in his rendering of Genesis 17. What he does seem to have done is to interpret Gen. 21/5-7 not as relating to Isaac's birth but as a kind of recollection of the events of the earlier context of the angelic visitation (Genesis 18). Thus Abraham's age at the angelic visitation is fixed and Sarah's corresponding age drawn from the earlier context of Genesis 17. Jos. then allows the actual time of Isaac's birth to remain vague in accord with the vagueness of Gen. 21/1-2.

There are two lapses in Jos.' consistency, however, in dealing with the birth of Isaac. In referring to Sarah's smile of incredulity (which is the cause of Isaac's name), our author says she did this when *God* said she would give birth, forgetting for the moment that he had completely combed God's overt presence out of the angelic visitation of Genesis 18. In referring to Isaac's circumcision, Jos. also seems to forget that the performance of this rite on the eighth day after birth has in fact been

¹ Cf. H. St.J. THACKERAY, *Josephus with an English Translation* (9 vols.; London-Cambridge, Mass.: 1930), IV, 106-107.

commanded by God in Genesis 17, for he says that Isaac was circumcised on the eighth day and *from that time forward* it has been the Jewish practice to do so on that particular day, adding that the practice is different among Arabs who take as their precedent the circumcision of Ishmael, the founder of their race, at the age of thirteen. Reference is again made, in this context, to the work in which our author says he intends to expound the matter of circumcision in detail.

One gets the odd impression in reading the brief account of Isaac's birth that our author would like to forget about Genesis 17 altogether, even though he continues to revert to details drawn therefrom.

By-passing the weaning-feast and whatever Sarah may have seen happen between Ishmael and Isaac on that occasion (Gen. 21/8-9), Jos. proceeds directly to Sarah's attitude toward Ishmael as this is partly adumbrated in her words to Abraham in Gen. 21/10. Sarah, however, is made by Jos. to seem both kindly and reasonable. She had, he says, cherished Ishmael as her own son, seeing that he was being trained as heir to the chieftaincy, but when Isaac was born she feared that if the boys were allowed to remain together, the elder would do the younger an injury after Abraham's death. She therefore urged Abraham to send Ishmael and his mother away to settle elsewhere.

All the above makes Ishmael look, if not exactly sinister, at least a bit suspect — an idea that Jos. may be basing on whatever understanding he had of Gen. 21/9. The abrupt expulsion demanded by Sarah is transmuted into a "resettling" and her refusal to divide the patrimony of Isaac into fear for Isaac's future physical welfare.² Sarah's actual cherishing of Ishmael, to the extent that it is not an *ad hoc* invention of Jos., could easily be drawn from the fact that Hagar's position as concubine was Sarah's idea to begin with, even though our author has eschewed mentioning this before.

As in Genesis, Abraham is not very pleased with this suggestion but, God intervening, is persuaded. Handing over Ishmael to Hagar, together with some bread and water, Abraham sends them off. Jos.' melodrama in this context borders, however, on the comic. Abraham is displeased because he thinks that nothing would be more brutal than to send off an infant child (*pais nēpios*) with a woman destitute of the necessities of life. God is merely said to have sanctioned Sarah's behests, whereupon Ishmael, who is not old enough to go off on his own, is committed to Hagar together with the food and Hagar is told to depart with necessity as her guide.

Since Ishmael is really the one Sarah (and, presumably, God) wishes

² All this makes Sarah look a little better. There is a recorded tradition that her fears that Isaac would suffer physical harm from Ishmael were well founded — cf. Tosefta (*Sota*, 6/6), where Isaac's mother witnesses external signs of Ishmael's ill-will for her son.

to be off the scene, Jos. feels bound, evidently, to explain why Hagar must go also. He does this by having recourse to the tender age of Ishmael who, by this time, is at the very least fourteen and probably closer to eighteen.

The locale (Beersheba) of Hagar's wandering is not mentioned by Jos. who, however, is careful to tell us that it was under a fir-tree (and not merely one of the bushes) that Ishmael was placed when the water supply finally gave out. In Genesis it is the cry of the child that God hears and responds to, but Jos. omits this. The angel merely meets Hagar (who has retired to a distance so as not to witness the boy's death), tells her of the well, and bids her look after the nurture of the young child since great blessing awaits *Hagar* through Ishmael's preservation.³

The discovery of the well is enough in Genesis to assure the survival of Hagar and Ishmael, but Jos. has Hagar take courage from the promises and escape her miseries through the care of shepherds, the actual *use* of the well never being mentioned.

I should make a modest suggestion as to the provenance of Jos.' shepherds. In Genesis, Hagar is not *told* about the well, but, after the instruction of the angel is concluded, her eyes are opened and she *sees* a well of water. In the MT this reads: "*wattēre*" *b'ēr mâyim*." This could be made to read: "*wattēre*" *bā' ārammîm*." If so, then Jos. has invented, or knows of, a double interpretation of Gen. 21/19, the "well" version of which he incorporates into the instruction of the angel, the "shepherd" version of which he leaves at the place where it is found in the MT.

The growing up of Ishmael (Gen. 21/20) is of no interest to Jos., but he recounts the marriage to an Egyptian who was chosen by Hagar (Gen. 21/21) and the twelve sons born of this union (Gen. 25/12-16). He will also include mention of the territories occupied by these people (Gen. 25/18), but omits the death notice which Genesis includes in this genealogy (Gen. 25/17 and 18).

Jos. lists the twelve descendants of Ishmael by the approximate name, and according to the order, which we find in Genesis. The identification of the territory is a different matter, however. Genesis says they dwelt from Havilah to Shur; Jos. says they occupied the country from the Euphrates to the Red Sea and called it Nabatene. The identification of the Ishmaelites with the Nabataeans could have been managed by way of suggestion made by the name of Ishmael's first son (Jos: Nabaiothēs) and supported by the general location of Shur.⁴ Our author concludes

³ The MT's emphasis (Gen. 21/18) is on the intention of God to do great things for *Ishmael*, not for his mother. As is often pointed out, this particular context is one in which whoever did the final copy of this portion of the *JA* decided to imitate EURIPIDES (*Hercules Furens*, 323-24) when describing Ishmael's dying state.

⁴ *Nabaiothēs* is Jos.' rendering of the MT's *nbāyōt*. In M. GINSBURGER's edition of

what he has to say of the Ishmaelites by remarking that it was these who conferred their names on the Arabian nation (*ethnos tōn Arabōn*) and its tribes in honour of their own prowess (*aretē*) and the fame of Abraham (*Habramos*). As Thackeray has pointed out, this is probably meant as an etymology for "Araboī" derived from the first syllables of *aretē* and *Habramos* respectively.⁵ With this rather dismal piece of word play, we pass on to what is Jos.' most elaborate effort in the whole series of Abraham stories — his version of "the *Akedah*".

(b)

Our passage directly from the Ishmaelites to the matter of Genesis 22, it should be recalled, is expedited by the transfer of material (Gen. 21/22-32) to another context and by simple omission (Gen. 21/33-34). We will be reminded when arriving at Genesis 22, moreover, that the genealogy which appears there in Genesis (20-24) has already been dealt with in an earlier chapter.

The development of the present material is lengthy and nuanced, so it were better to begin by seeing by way of preview something of what our author will be up to. The Genesis narrative proceeds along the following lines:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. theolouquy | 6. Isaac's impending death |
| 2. first stage of journey | 7. divine intervention |
| 3. second stage of journey | 8. the ram sacrificed |
| 4. dialogue between A. & I. | 9. promises of rewards |
| 5. sacrifice made ready | 10. return home. |

The initial theolouquy is expanded by Jos., and equipped with a preface and a conclusion. The dialogue between Abraham and Isaac (4) is slightly expanded and is transferred to the context of the actual preparation for the sacrifice (5). This preparation is interrupted (just before the point in Genesis where Isaac is bound) by a lengthy speech of Abraham which Jos. couches in direct discourse. Isaac, in effect, is never bound at all in

the BM's ms. (add. 27031) of the *Targum Pseud. Jon.* (Berlin: 1903), *nbṭ* is given as the name of Ishmael's eldest. Therefore, Jos. is not alone in his identification which, up until most recent times, still held the field (cf. J. SKINNER, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis* (Edinburgh: 1910), pp. 352-53). Shur designates the steppes south-west of Palestine, east of Egypt and north of the deserts of the Sinai peninsula.

⁵ Cf. H. St.J. THACKERAY, *op. cit.*, p. 109. This investigation has already seen Jos. attaching etymologies to syllables of words: Hiddeqel (p. 54), Arpachshad (p. 115), Jordan (p. 135). It was also suggested that the last syllable of the name Aschanaxēs has something to do with Sicilian Naxos (p. 105-106). What perhaps rubs hardest against the grain is our author's willingness to seek the meaning of Semitic names in Greek roots. Such would be true of the present case as well as of Aschanaxēs relation to Naxos. It will also be necessary to point out that this inclination to mix languages may also be operative in Jos.' etymology of the name of Ephraim (pp. 245-246).

Jos.' version of the story, and his impending death (6) is spoken of by our author but not described. The divine intervention (7) and the promises of rewards (9) are combined into one communication. The sacrifice of the ram and the return home conclude the episode.

Highly moral and deeply emotional currents run through the entire presentation. It is indeed Isaac's hour to take the centre of the stage, but one is reminded more of Iphigenia and Clytemnestra than of the two male protagonists of the Genesis account.

The preface to the theolology is intent on emphasizing just how much Abraham loved Isaac. The son was an only son, born, by God's bounty, on the threshold of old age.⁶ In addition, the boy was virtuous. He practised every virtue, showing a devoted filial obedience and a zeal for the worship of God. Therefore all Abraham's happiness was centered in the hope that when he himself died Isaac would still remain.⁷

The last detail is really based on the fact that Isaac happened to be Abraham's *only* son, but the attachment of the father is meant to have a broader basis than just that. Much, if not all, of this takes its cue from the first words of the theolology in Genesis: "Take your son, your only son Isaac, whom you love"

Jos., while a bit proleptically assuring us that in fact Isaac *will* survive his father, goes on to recount the theolology. In Genesis, what is being done is clearly a test, and Abraham is bidden to take Isaac to the land of Moriah and offer him as a burnt-offering upon one of the mountains which God will indicate. Jos. too makes mention of the fact that this is a test, but turns the theolology into a real theophany wherein God, before breaking the bad news, lists some things He has done for Abraham.

Abraham is reminded by God that he owes Him the strength which has made him stronger than his enemies. His present felicity and his son Isaac are also results of the divine benevolence. Abraham, however, is to take Isaac to the Morian Mount, construct an altar, and, with his own hand, make a holocaust of Isaac as a sacrifice and victim for God. Thus would the father's piety be made manifest in putting God's pleasure above the life of the child.

Jos. does what Genesis does not in identifying the mountain by the name, which, in the MT, is attached only to the land in which the mountain,

⁶ Footnote 3 of this chapter pointed out what has been noted as a seemingly deliberate imitation of some lines from Euripides. The present context, by noting that Abraham is "on the threshold of old age", is again showing off some Greek erudition, this time excerpted from HOMER (*Il.*, 22/60).

⁷ In describing Isaac's natural virtue and the affection which this called forth in Abraham, PHILO (*De Abrahamo*, 168) is not far behind Jos.' enthusiastic account: "The wife of the sage bore to him in full wedlock his only and dearly cherished son, a child of great bodily beauty and excellence of soul. For already he was showing a perfection of virtues beyond his years, so that his father, moved not merely by a feeling of natural affection but also by such deliberate judgment as a censor of character might make, cherished for him a great tenderness."

as yet to be designated, is found. The frills adorning the test theme are for the most part drawn from the later divine intervention and promise of rewards. That God should have to remind Abraham of His benefits before broaching the purpose of the theophany does not exactly compliment Abraham's faith, but is a style of address which Jos. may be adopting from other biblical precedents.⁸

Abraham's reaction is Jos.' creation. Nothing justifies disobedience to God; the divine will must be submitted to in everything since all that befalls God's favoured ones is ordained by His providence. With these convictions in hand, he resolves to immolate Isaac but keeps this resolution hidden from Sarah and from his household, lest anyone should hinder him from serving God.⁹

Once before it has been suggested that Jos., or whomever he may be following, may have seen in the phrase "arose early in the morning" more than is actually present in the words themselves.¹⁰ The secrecy of Abraham on this occasion may derive from the same source (Gen. 22/3).

The first (Gen. 22/3-5) and second (Gen. 22/6) stages of the journey are narrated almost as in Genesis itself, saving that, as already noted, our author makes the dialogue between Abraham and Isaac take place after they reach the appointed spot and are preparing the materials for the rite. Jos. also adds to the second stage of the journey the remark that their destination was in fact the site where David would eventually construct the temple — an idea which is not unique to Jos.¹¹

⁸ This investigation confines itself to Jos.' dependence upon Genesis so that themes drawn from other parts of the Bible are only parenthetically our concern. The most obvious example of the sort of "reminder" which has been mentioned in the body of this investigation is the classic: "I am the Lord your God who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. You shall not have other gods before me" (Exod. 20/2-3). But this example could be multiplied indefinitely.

⁹ That Abraham hid from Sarah what he was going to do with Isaac is the basic detail of a tradition which has to do with the death of Sarah — an event which follows closely upon the present context in Genesis. Sarah passes away when (*Kohelet Rabbah*, 9/7) she hears from Isaac himself what almost happened. The same result ensues when (*Pirke deRabbi Eliezer*, Ch. 32) Sammael lyingly tells Sarah, during the absence of Abraham and Isaac (and before they have a chance to arrive back), that the sacrifice has in fact occurred. The most elaborate version (*Book of Jashar*, Ch. 23) has Abraham tell Sarah before his departure that he is taking Isaac to see Eber and Shem (a clear lie). During their absence the devil tells Sarah that the sacrifice has been consummated. She tries to find out whether this is true by going in search of husband and son. In the course of the search the devil returns to say he has lied and Sarah expires *with joy*.

¹⁰ Cf. p. 149 of this investigation.

¹¹ "Then Solomon began to build the house of the Lord in Jerusalem on Mount Moriah, where the Lord had appeared to David his father, at the place that David had appointed, on the threshing floor of Ornan the Jebusite." One does not have to look further than the Bible (II Chron. 3/1) for the tradition which Jos. echoes. The direct connection of the future temple site with Abraham's attempted sacrifice of Isaac is made by the *Targum of Chronicles* (at the text just quoted). That Isaac was bound "in the place of the house of the sanctuary" is the testimony of the *Targum of Canticles* (at CC 3/6).

Isaac, whom our author makes twenty-five years of age, asks, while constructing the altar, where the victim may be, and instead of receiving the simple answer that God would provide Himself the lamb for a burnt offering, we have the following: God will provide for them, for He gives abundance to those who lack and deprives of their possessions those assured of what they have; He will grant Abraham a victim should He deign to grace the sacrifice with His presence.

The theme of the sovereignty of God in dealing with rich and poor is one that can be derived from other texts of the Bible, but does not appear in Genesis 22. The last statement, however, regarding God's presence at the sacrifice may be somehow based on the use of the verb *R^oH* in the MT (Gen. 22/8 & 14). The latter of these two verses especially is to be noted as the cause of a rich and varied tradition of exegesis.¹²

When the altar has been prepared, the cleft wood laid upon it, and all is ready, Abraham makes a speech to Isaac. It is a long one, and, surprisingly enough, in direct discourse. A speech of this precise kind is something a bit unusual though tradition tends to place a good deal more conversation in this general context than is recorded in Genesis.¹³

The logic of this discourse is not exactly easy to follow. Abraham is made to begin by recalling how much he treasures Isaac: he prayed incessantly for his birth, he exercised great care in his up-bringing, and his entire happiness rests in seeing Isaac grown and in leaving him as heir. This is all meant to project Abraham's undoubted disinclination to do what he is clearly intending. Implied therein is the sovereign character of the divine will in the face of which personal feelings are being repressed, but also Abraham's courage and determination. This last may be intended as an example for Isaac to follow.

The rest is all exhortation, during the course of which the bad news is gently broached, and then so delicately broken that, considering the

¹² The two texts in question read: (Gen. 22/8) Abraham said: "God will provide (*yir^oeh*) himself the lamb for a burnt offering, my son". So they went both of them together. (Gen. 22/14) So Abraham called the name of that place The Lord Will Provide (*YHWH-yir^oeh*); as it is said to this day, "On the mount of the Lord it shall be provided (*yērā^oeh*)". The use of the verbal root for "see" in these verses is somewhat ambiguous. To what extent this ambiguity formed the point of departure for some of the facets which Jos. (or whatever exegetical tradition he was following) put upon what we read in the *JA*, it is difficult (if not impossible at this stage of our knowledge) to say. For a sample of what is done by other exegetes when explaining Gen. 22/14, cf. *Genesis Rabbah* (56/10).

¹³ The chatty tone engendered in the retelling of Genesis 22 is particularly apparent in the *Book of Jashar* (Ch. 23). To mention but three instances of this will be sufficient: the conversation of Abraham and Sarah before his departure; the words exchanged by Ishmael and Eliezer (the persons whom Abraham took to accompany himself and Isaac); the question put by Abraham to his three companions and the answers they gave. The *Targum Pseud. Jon.* and the *Fragment Targum* both (at Gen. 22/10) make Isaac say something to Abraham as the latter stretches out his hand to kill his son, and, thereafter, they append remarks exchanged by the angels as they viewed what Abraham was about.

rather unusual and unexpected character of what was intended, it is surprising that Isaac got the point of what his father was saying.

Isaac is told to bear his consecration (*kathierōsis*) bravely in the light of the fact that He who has given life is now taking it away; this deprivation is being exacted in return for favour and support granted by God to Abraham on many occasions.

This rationalizing of the divine will continues. As Isaac has entered life by the uncommon road, so, in the same uncommon fashion, he should depart it (by the hand of his own father, dispatched to the Father of all, amid sacrificial rites). God is according a privilege by taking Isaac to Himself amid sacrificial rites, and not by some common form of death, such as sickness, war, or other human calamity. Isaac will remain, in a way, Abraham's longed-for protector in his old age by having thus brought it about that God, instead of Isaac himself, will become Abraham's support.¹⁴

Jos. makes Isaac respond to this in a fashion as unrealistic as the tone of Abraham's speech itself. The son of such a father, says our author, could not be anything else but brave, and Isaac received the words of Abraham with joy. He is made to declare that he deserved never to have been born at all were he to disobey the decision which came from both God and his father and were not to resign himself to what was the manifest will of *both*, seeing that it would be impious to disobey the command even if it came from Abraham alone. Having said this, Isaac is made to rush for the altar and his doom, and "the deed", our author assures us, would have been accomplished had not there happened what he is about to tell us.

But what are we to make of this expanded version of Gen. 22/9-10? There are traditions which record Isaac's willingness to co-operate with the sacrifice of himself, at least to the extent of freely warning Abraham to do the binding well in order to prevent the victim from being able to flinch, albeit involuntarily, at the moment of sacrifice and thus commit a fault that, for various reasons, was considered unseemly.¹⁵ This tradition of willing co-operation which is mirrored by Jos.' version of things may

¹⁴ The rhetorical complexity of the chain of thoughts put into Abraham's mouth by Jos. contrasts violently with the directness and simplicity of the original. Jos., however, has shown a penchant for this sort of wordy froth already when he re-fashioned God's words to Cain (*JA* 1/57; pp. 67-68 of this investigation). This is but the beginning of what Jos. will attempt to do with rhetoric as a tool for reshaping Genesis.

¹⁵ This tradition, as already noted in footnote 13 of this chapter, appears in two of the Targumim at Gen. 22/10. It will be sufficient to quote *Targum Pseud. Jon.*: "And Isaac answered and said to his father: 'Bind me properly lest I tremble from the affliction of my soul and be cast into the pit of destruction and there be found profaneness in thy offering.' Now the eyes of Abraham looked on the eyes of Isaac; but the eyes of Isaac looked towards the angels on high and Isaac beheld them but Abraham saw them not. And the angels answered on high: 'Come behold how these solitary ones who are in the world kill the one the other; he who slayeth delays not; he who is to be slain reacheth forth his neck.'"

have resulted from a feeling that Isaac, if he were everything he should have been, need not have been tied up in order to force him to do something he should have been happy to perform on his own. In any case, Jos. takes Isaac's willingness to several extremes, including the omission of any mention of binding at all.

The speech of Abraham may perhaps be merely a literary device, necessary in the context in that, in order to achieve Isaac's co-operation, the boy would have to be told something of what was intended. But, as we have seen, the speech is inserted just at the point where the binding takes place in Genesis, and since the binding is never mentioned subsequently, we might almost be led to suppose that the speech-making may actually be taking the place of the binding and somehow originally derived therefrom.

Now the verb *QD* is, in the MT, a *hapax legomenon* and is translated by the LXX as *sympodizō*. The Greek verb, however, is not a *hapax*. Without attributing much probability to the speculation, it is interesting to note that there is a context in which *sympodizō* is in fact used for exercise of moral restraint. In addition, he who is restrained is a youth, and the restrainer is a "godly one." I have reference to the LXX's version of Prov. 20/11: "(*kai ho poiōn auta*) *en tois epitēdeumasin autou sympodisthēsetai neaniskos meta hosiou kai eutheia hē hodos autou.*" A penchant for interpreting the Bible through the Bible may, in fact, carry one far afield. Doubtless we shall never know what gave rise to the tradition which Jos. has either invented or followed that makes Abraham homilize to Isaac instead of tying him up.

The two communications with Abraham from above are, as already noted, combined into one by our author, and it is God who is communicating. The substance of Gen. 22/11-12 (the first communication) is given by Jos. To the indication of God's motive in testing Abraham ("...for now I know that you fear God", etc.) he adds two declarations regarding what God's motives were *not*: God had not issued the command from a craving for human blood; nor had He made Abraham a father only in order to rob (!) him in so impious (!) a fashion of his offspring. Jos. is clearly protesting too much. Somehow, he seems to have found the mode of testing Abraham a trifle embarrassing.

The logical connection of the beginning of the second communication (Gen. 22/15-18) to the ending of the first is obvious and is made full use of by Jos. in his appending it at once, putting off the mention of the ram until later. God, says Jos., knowing the ardour and depth of Abraham's piety, declares that He took pleasure in what He had given to Abraham previously. There follows a list of good things in store. By the MT's "I will indeed bless you" Jos. seems to understand: God's determination never to fail to regard Abraham and his race with the tenderest care; a long and happy life for Isaac; for Isaac, again, great dominions, a virtuous

and lawfully begotten posterity, and, at death, the bequeathal of the former to the latter. By "I will multiply your descendants" Jos. seems to understand just that, eschewing any direct reference to stars of heaven or sands of the seashore. By "...and your descendants shall possess the gate of their enemies" Jos. may have either been puzzled or confronted with more than one tradition. The wealth which he attributes to the multitude of future descendants as well as the fact that they will conquer by their arms could both come from the same textual basis. But Jos. seems to give two clear meanings to "...and by your descendants shall all nations of the earth bless themselves", for he says that the founders of these future nations will be held in everlasting remembrance and that they will be envied by all men.

Jos. has the episode close in a swirl of happy activity. "From obscurity" God brought into view a ram for the sacrifice. The father and son, restored to each other unexpectedly and elated with the promises, embrace. They offer the sacrifice, return home to Sarah and live happily, God assisting them in all they do.

For so tediously long a build-up, the final events are somewhat abbreviated and contrast with all the care taken with the narrative up to the very end. The rejoining of the two servants on the way home is a detail connected in Genesis with these last events but which finds no overt place in our author's version. We ought not to overlook the possibility, however, that God's bringing the ram from obscurity into view may have something to do with the name bestowed on the place by Abraham in the context of the ram's sacrifice as it is narrated in the MT. Having but casual keenness for topography, Jos. has the pair return to Sarah instead of Beersheba.

(c)

We now move into the material covered by Gen. 23/1 through 25/10: the death of Sarah through the death of Abraham. The one rearrangement our author chooses to make is the placement of Abraham's marriage to Keturah (and the list of offspring born thereby) immediately after the account of Sarah's death, thus leaving the notice of Abraham's death and burial to follow immediately after the matter of Genesis 24.

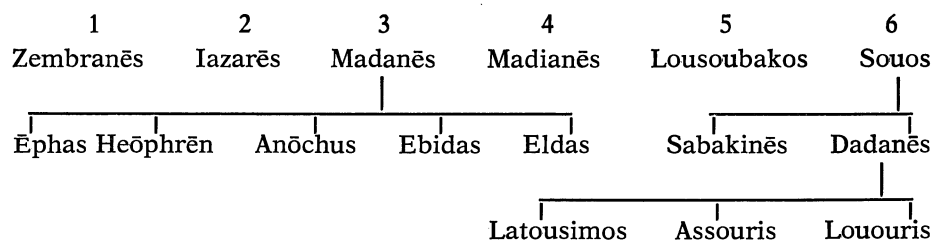
Genesis 23 offers one of those amazing pieces of dialogue in which the first book of the Bible is so rich but for which Jos. seems to have so little appreciation. The isolated and, if you will, essential facts are picked out and pieced together. This is no story, but merely a notice.

Jos. puts Sarah's death as "not long after" the events surrounding the attempted sacrifice of Isaac. Since he has made Isaac to be twenty-five at the time, Sarah's death, if the MT chronology is to be followed at all,

The narrative is constructed in this fashion. Sarah died at the age of 127 years (Gen. 23/1-2). They buried her in Hebron (23/19) where the Canaanites (!) offered burial ground for her at the public expense (23/5-6, the same sentiment being also echoed by Ephron in 23/10-11). Abraham bought the spot for four hundred shekels from "Ephraim," a native of the place (23/16) and here too Abraham and his descendants built their own tombs (Gen. 25/9-10, 49/29-32, 50/12-13).

The marriage with Keturah is now said to have taken place, and from this union, says our author, came six sons who were strong in labour (*pros ponous karteroi*) and quick of understanding (*deinoi synienai*). Though it is altogether idle to speculate, the characteristics assigned to the sons of Keturah may indeed come from the etymologies which Jos., or some other tradition known to him, has assigned to one or the other of the individual names. Zimran (Jos.: Zembranēs) for instance could quite well suggest *zimrâ* (strength), whence also the first general characteristic. But pursuing such lines only turns our investigation into a game. Suffice it to say, however, that the presence of unmentioned etymologies in the mind of our author may indeed be something of which account must be taken.

Jos. will append to the genealogical list of the present context a few remarks about the subsequent history of some of these descendants of Abraham. His handling of the list is peculiar, and the names are hard to interpret. It will be best to include the list itself, using the spelling of the individuals' names which Jos. employs.



It will be noted at once that the descendants of Jokshan (2) are transferred to Shuah (6), and those of Midian (4) given to Medan (3).

The sons of Dadanēs (who do not appear at all in the version of this list given in I Ch 1/32-33) are given an order slightly different from that in which they are found in the MT.¹⁶

These sons and grandsons, Jos. tells us, Abraham contrived to send out to found colonies. This is in line with a detail of Genesis (25/5-6) to which we will return again later. These peoples are said by our author to have occupied Troglodytis and the part of Arabia Felix which extends to the Red Sea, and these specifications may or may not be founded on the "eastward, to the east country" of Gen. 25/6. Heōphrēn, however, led an expedition against Libya which he occupied and his grandsons settled there and called the land after his name: "Africa."

This final statement is the piece of information which we were promised as long ago as the version of the Table of Nations. It is important only to remember that it is Heōphrēn of whom Jos. is thinking as we examine his quotation from Alexander Polyhistor who is quoting Cleodemus (or Malchus) the prophet. This is the last occasion in his treatment of the Genesis material that Jos. will cite external authorities.

Cleodemus is said to have said, in his history of the Jews, and in conformity with the narrative of their law-giver Moses, that Abraham had several sons by Keturah, and three are named: Aphas, Surēs and Japhras. Surēs gave his name to Assyria, Japhras and Aphas giving theirs to the city of Aphra (Ephra?) and the country of Africa. These latter joined Heracles in his campaign against Libya and Antaeus. Heracles married the daughter of Aphranēs, begetting by her a son Didorus, who begat Sophōn from whom the barbarians take their name of Sophakes.

It is hard to see how Jos. could be convinced that this piece of information constitutes an extension of our knowledge of the progeny of Abraham by Keturah. Presuming that Aphas may be Heōphrēn (MT: Ephra), who are Surēs, Japhras and Aphranēs? Does he mean that the two men gave their names to the city and country "respectively", or did their names, so alike, both contribute to the naming of both? Even when we assume that by Surēs is meant one of the sons of Dedan (Jos.: Dadanēs), does this not contradict the information already given by Jos. in naming another as the one after whom Assyria was called?

All these are difficulties really arising from the lack of ability on Jos.' part to use his sources to the best advantage of the story or text he is attempting to footnote. To have given this fact attention is to have attended to all that need be said about the incorporation of this clumsy piece of *Wissenschaft*.

We have now to deal with the lengthiest chapter in Genesis. Despite its seeming tediousness, it is of *enormous* importance for an accurate grasp

¹⁶ The order in which they appear in the MT (Gen. 25/3 is: Asshurim, Letushim, Leummim.

of Jos.' handling of his material. We have contained herein a whole range of methods and all of them are a trifle different. He includes, moreover, in his narrative of the events at the well, his first thus far recorded experiment in dramatic dialogue.

From the point of view taken by Jos., we may best conceive of the order of this story as taking the following form:

1. the dispatch of Abraham's ambassador (Gen. 24/1-10a);
2. the journey to Mesopotamia (24/10b): somewhat needlessly expanded by our author;
3. the arrival at the well and the prayer (24/11-14);
4. the encounter with Rebekah (24/15-27): the dramatic high-point of Jos.' version;
5. the discharge of the embassy (24/28-49);
6. concluding events (24/50-67): highly abbreviated by our author.

Jos.' whole concept of the embassy is a bit unusual. We are, first of all, told Isaac's age rather than Abraham's at this point. Again, Abraham has in mind just exactly who it is who is being sent for: Rebekah, granddaughter of his brother Nahor. The presents sent were of inestimable value, either because of their intrinsic rarity or their relative unavailability in the regions to which they were being sent. And finally, Jos. will take the trouble to explain to us the form of oath to which the servant-ambassador was subject before departure.

The inclusion of the last detail is surprising in an author who has not taken much trouble heretofore to include, much less "explain," the covenantal folk-ways of his people. It may be because he is unused to taking these matters into account that he in fact describes a ceremony which is a bit different from the one which we find in the MT. Jos.' view is that both parties place their hands under the thigh of the other when invoking God as witness of their future actions.

The servant's journey was prolonged, says Jos., by climatic conditions and by the danger of brigands. In Mesopotamia, the winter brings a depth of mud, the summer, a drought. The brigands could not be avoided without taking the necessary precautions. What these precautions were, Jos. does not say, but in any case they were cause for delay. In this prolongation of the trip our author stands opposed to other traditions which tend to shorten it to an unlikely degree.¹⁷

Arriving at Haran (Jos.' clarification of the MT's "city of Nahor") the servant meets in the suburbs a group of women going to fetch water and he offers his prayer to God. This prayer (not quoted directly) has a

¹⁷ So *Genesis Rabbah* (59/11) has the servant set out and arrive at his destination on the same day. This same source (60/1) does, however, indicate that some exegetes concerned themselves with the meteorological conditions of the servant's journey.

different function in Jos. Genesis asks for a sign that will indicate which of the maidens is the one appointed to be Isaac's wife. Jos. has already introduced Rebekah as the object of the search, so that the servant's prayer is that the sign will single out Rebekah in order to show God's pleasure in the choice which, in effect, has already been made.

In Jos. the servant approaches the maidens at the well (and not Rebekah directly) and asks them for water, which they refuse. They are rebuked by Rebekah who then offers the stranger what he has requested. She does not go on, however, to give water to the camels which is the Genesis form of the account. The form of Rebekah's rebuke is moralizing and somewhat sophisticated: "What will you ever share with anyone who refuse even a drop of water?"

This new twist to the beginning of the encounter with Rebekah is followed up by other alterations. In Genesis the girl is given gifts and asked two questions: who is she, and is there room in her house for lodging the visitor. The answers to both are straightforward: she reveals who she is and says there is provender and room for the visitor. Our author makes all this much more complicated.

The question about identity comes first. The servant is now in high hopes of attaining his object but he wishes to learn the truth. He commends the girl for her goodness in helping another at the cost of her own toil, inquires about her parents and wishes them joy of such a child as herself, saying: "May they marry you to their hearts' content into the house of a good man to bear him children in wedlock!" To this the girl replies (in direct discourse) that she is Rebekah and that her father Bethuel is now dead. Her brother Laban with her mother directs the household, and Laban is the guardian of her maidenhood.

The mention of the death of Bethuel is peculiar, because he figures in the Genesis account (Gen. 24/50) even in face of the fact that Rebekah is said (Gen. 24/28) to have run and told her *mother's* household about the visitor's arrival. But Laban takes the active hand in the conduct of affairs in general and, at Gen. 24/55, only Laban and Rebekah's mother are quoted. The father's absence in the latter passage has, in fact, been noted by other traditions and was explained as being due to the father's (sudden) death.¹⁸

At each step of this narrative the servant's reaction is described. Now he rejoices over the deeds done and the words spoken, seeing that God was so manifestly furthering his mission. The gifts are given at this juncture. Jos. has them consist of a necklace and some ornaments be-

¹⁸ "But where was Bethuel?" asks *Genesis Rabbah* (60/12) in preparation for its answer: "He wished to hinder it (the marriage) and so he was smitten during the night". *Targum Pseud. Jon.* (at Gen. 24/54) has the following: "But as they were talking in the evening Bethuel had eaten of that prepared food and in the morning they found that he was dead".

coming for maidens to wear. They are offered as recompense and reward for her courtesy together with the remark that it was right she should receive such things since she had outstripped so many maidens in goodness.

Genesis makes the gifts consist of a ring and two bracelets, adding a note on the weight of the items. The LXX has changed the ring into earrings. Of all the traditions Jos. is somewhat unusual in omitting the fact that these things were made of gold. The remarks which our author couples to the giving of these gifts might indicate that he was trying hard to make into a decorous and seemly situation an event which might be ambiguous. The modest character of the items themselves would help his effort in that direction.

The question about lodging now arises. Here too, a certain seemliness seems to be uppermost in Jos.' presentation. The servant is made to make reference to the fact that night is coming on and further travel prohibited. He is the bearer of valuable women's apparel and must needs find for hosts trustworthy folk such as the girl has proven herself to be. If her mother and brother were as virtuous and kindly as she, they will not take the request amiss. The servant is quite willing to pay for his keep. Rebekah's answer is that he is correct about her parents' (!) humanity but she upbraids him for attributing meanness to them, saying that he will be provided for free of charge. She must, however, see Laban first and with his consent will bring the visitor in.

The girl's response is based somewhat upon the Genesis account in that food and lodging are offered by her and she does go to tell Laban of the visitor's arrival without herself introducing the stranger into the house. The servant's thanksgiving to God at this juncture (Gen. 24/26-27) is omitted by Jos.

Our author now obviously intends to press on quickly to the finish of his story. The retelling to the household of what has occurred and Laban's taking the initiative in the invitation (Gen. 24/28-31) are by-passed. Jos. merely indicates that Laban gave his permission but that *Rebekah* introduced the stranger and that Laban's *servants* took charge of the camels. The ambassador is brought in to supper which he finishes before beginning his address, which is delivered to Laban and the girl's mother.

Jos. allows it all to take place in direct discourse. Though such an approach usually signals the advent of a highly developed rhetorical handling of the matter, such in this case, is not so. He begins by a genealogical identification of Abraham (son of Terah and brother of Nahor, the grandfather of "these children"). The embassy is now alluded to in the terms in which Jos. has originally presented it, together with the identity of Isaac as legitimate son and sole heir of Abraham. The wealth of Abraham, which is a point made by Genesis (24/35), is underscored by our author in a different fashion, for he has the servant say that Abraham might have taken for Isaac the wealthiest of women (in

Canaan) but that he scorned such a match and in honour of his own kin now plans this marriage. This is actually the only allusion Jos. makes to the desire of Abraham to avoid alliance by marriage with those among whom he is dwelling.

Genesis allows the divine sign at the well to speak for itself, but Jos. is determined to make a special point of it. The hearers are told by the speaker not to flout Abraham's ardour and his proposal, for it was through God's will that all else befell him (the servant) on his journey and that he found Rebekah and their house. The sign is then described in the fashion and according to the understanding Jos. has already indicated. The speaker then concludes by returning to the force of the divine sign: "Nuptials thus manifestly blessed of heaven now ratify and show honour to Abraham, who with such zeal has sent me hither, by consenting to give the girl away."

In detailing a speech which is largely a repetition of what has been dealt with previously, Jos. takes a surprising amount of care in accounting for it part by part, and shows an equally surprising fidelity to his own interpretation of the events which must again be retold. The final appeal of the servant even echoes the last line of his speech in Genesis (24/49). The importance of the speech in Jos.' eyes may be that it is meant to explain completely why the relatives of Rebekah acted at once and in accordance with Abraham's wish, for, in our author's version, they need no more persuasion and he rushes to the end of the episode with little or no notice of what Genesis has to say.

The relatives, since the suit was honourable and to their liking, understood God's will and sent their daughter in accord with the servant's request (Gen. 24/50-51 & 59-60). Isaac then married her (Gen. 24/67). Jos. adds that Isaac is now master of his father's estates for the sons of Keturah had departed to found their colonies.

These concluding matters are very briefly dispatched, the last minute tergiversations of Rebekah's family as well as the first meeting of Isaac and his future wife somehow not suiting our author's purposes or taste. The mention of the offspring of Keturah, however, signals the fact that Jos. is well aware of their presence at this point in Genesis where Abraham's second marriage and the children thereof are actually treated (Gen. 25/1-6).

Not long after, Jos. says, Abraham died at the age of 175. He was buried in Hebron alongside Sarah by Isaac and Ishmael. The brief obituary adds that he was a man in every virtue supreme and that he received from God the due reward of honour for his zeal in the divine service. Saving the encomium, this is but a repetition of the substance of Gen. 25/7-10, though the final praise of the Father of all Believers is at least adumbrated in the MT's notice that he died at a good old age and as a man full of years.

Thus concludes the saga of Abraham with the simplicity and lack of frills consonant with the style set by Genesis itself. Jos. has not really attempted to write a life of Abraham but has merely retold the episodes of his career as they occur in the familiar order, taking but four liberties with the arrangement of the Genesis account, three of which were to do with genealogy. His picture has remained somewhat diffuse, the individuality of his treatment only really coming to the fore after detailed and painstaking analysis. The sole unifying factor seems to be the order of Genesis as we ourselves know it, and he simply has not tried to order the wider spectrum of interpretation into any pattern other than the basic one with which he was doubtless confronted. To what extent the same will hold for the two other major figures of Genesis remains to be seen.

PART III

Jacob: Genesis 25/11 - 35/29

Introduction

The *limits* of the material which Part III sets itself to investigate might seem to have more to do with Isaac than with Jacob, but this is one of the peculiar things about the section of Genesis which runs parallel to that part of Jos.' version which we are about to examine. Though it is Isaac who steps into the limelight immediately after the death of Abraham (Gen. 25/11) and whose death and burial close this present part (Gen. 35/29), Isaac is by no means the chief figure in question. Though Isaac may be said to form the frame, Jacob is definitely the picture which it contains.

Most of the episodes occurring herein have not by and large attracted all that much interest, nor are they likely to gain in popularity through the present examination of what Jos. has done with them. The bit of material devoted specifically to Isaac is for the most part a parallel to some of the Abrahamic stories and Jos., sensing this, reduces his coverage of Isaac's few adventures by large-scale omissions and abbreviations. The Jacob stories are full of deceit, treachery, and, in one case, atrocity. In addition to this they are long and often dull. It is not the purpose of this examination, however, to review the Genesis material as such, but to see what Jos. does with it; and this, in fact, can be quite interesting. I would venture to say that precisely because of the rather unappealing character of most of the material we are about to review few if any have actually taken the time to sift carefully the differences and likenesses which Jos.' version presents vis-à-vis Genesis. Though his readers may not have proven to be interested in these matters, Jos. evidently was, and his patient application of his own methods while slogging through these relatively unappealing stories can well be an example to those who wish, with equal patience, to follow his traces in order to discover what he is up to, and the discovery of that may well be worth the effort.

The Ishmaelite genealogy (Gen. 25/12-18) has been transferred by Jos. to an earlier context, so we shall not expect to encounter it. A detail or two about Esau, but especially his sale of the birthright, is put off until Jos. is ready to deal with Genesis 36, which does not fall within this Part. All else we may expect to be accounted for, and if it is not present, it has either been simply omitted or somewhat surreptitiously redisposed or transmuted into seemingly more novel details. There are no external sources cited, and our author's penchant for displaying a background

which brings his narrative within the scope of contemporary knowledge, experience and prejudices is kept so under control as to be barely perceptible. All things considered, the present Part is probably the best example of what Jos. can do on his own, with little apparent outside help. Even his moralizing (for there are precious few in these episodes who would be in a position to be credible vehicles for it) is reduced to a minimum. The kinship theme is about the only noble sentiment he seeks to emphasize, and this, as we shall see, almost *ad nauseam*.

"Hellenization" is sometimes used with reference to Jos.' approach to his narrative of the Genesis material, and there is scarcely any question that the literary world which was part of his own contemporary history, and in which, presumably, he hoped his own literary productions would take a place, was "hellenized" quite thoroughly. There is a danger, however, that his tendency to hellenize be exaggerated, especially if hellenization begins to be used as a kind of categorical term which is somehow meant to stand in distinction from, or opposition to, a so-called "Semitic mentality". None of us is accused of Shakespearianizing when he refers to the lack of strain on the quality of mercy or the unimportance of the name by which a rose is called. Milton might well have been accused of latinizing English, but no one suspects him of going beyond the superficial linguistic and conventionally literary level in achieving this. All this is meant only as a caution against making of the common coin of literary exchange a category which is meant to stamp the whole mentality, purpose and method of a given writer. We cannot in justice apply it *a priori* to Jos. merely in the light of his conventional usages. It is important to make this point at this juncture, for emotional interests, of which Hellenizing stylists were wont to make such capital, are scarcely absent from either Chapter 6 (e.g., Jacob's love for Rachel) or Chapter 7 (e.g., the tragic events at Shechem). The aforementioned cautions being kept in mind, however, the discovery of such Hellenizing touches as are employed by our author will not unduly distort the image of Jos.' methods in dealing with his original.

CHAPTER 6: Strangers in Residence

The settling down for indefinite or long periods of residence in foreign parts is a general theme running through the episodes which Jos. narrates in *JA* I/257-308 and which we will examine in this chapter. Such sojournings are, of course, a periodic feature of the Abraham saga as well, but they are a somewhat subordinate one owing to Abraham's having made of Hebron a kind of permanent home base. The topographical interests of Jos., however, seem to be minimal, and he does not much refer to the various places within Palestine where the patriarchs are to be found at any given time. In this connection the lack of any specific mention of Isaac's residence at Beersheba should be noted.

The deception of Abimelech recorded in Genesis 26, as well as the second theophany of the same chapter (verse 24), are omitted altogether, the latter episode being a part of the removal to Beersheba which, as has been noted, is excised by our author. The content of the first theophany (Gen. 26/2-5) is reduced to the barest minimum.

The portions of Jacob's adventures which receive the greatest elaboration and attention are the meeting with Rachel at the well and the consequent parley with Laban respecting Jacob's present position and future plans.¹

This present chapter is divided in such a way that the events of Isaac's life are treated first. Jacob's departure for Mesopotamia is the theme of the second section, while his residence there and the birth of his children form the subject of the final sequence.

(a)

Jos. takes up his version of the series of episodes contained in Gen. 25/11 through 26/35 with the indication that what happens now occurred after Abraham's death (Gen. 25/11). According to the chronology of Gen-

¹ Something which will be pointed out in the context of the discussion of this two-part episode (pp. 187-191 of this investigation), but which is worth noting at once, is the similar treatment given by Jos. to it and to the embassy dispatched by Abraham to sue for the hand of Rebekah (cf. pp. 164-168 of this investigation). The relationship between these two passages has long since been stressed by H. St.J. THACKERAY. For him both are the products of a common author and/or editor (the famous "Sophoclean assistant" to Jos.) who is also responsible for the *JA*'s version of the story of Potiphar's wife (*JA* II/39-59). Cf. H. St.J. THACKERAY, *Josephus with an English Translation* (9 vols.; London-Cambridge, Mass.: 1930), IV, xv.

esis the births of the twin boys to Isaac actually took place during the lifetime of Abraham, but the arrangement of the narrative sequence tends to distract attention from this fact. Consistent with what he had done heretofore, Jos. did not attempt to harmonize the chronology and simply told his story according to the *apparent* order.²

First in order is the conception and birth of the twins. Thus everything between the first part of Gen. 25/11 and the second half of 25/21 is bypassed, though the Ishmaelite genealogy (25/12-18) has already been accounted for, and Isaac's prayer for a child because his wife was barren (25/21a) gives Jos. the basis for something he does with what is to follow.

For Jos. it is not a difficult pregnancy which causes the consultation of God, but Isaac's seeing that his wife is inordinately big with child. Thereupon not Rebekah but Isaac consults God (cf. Gen. 25/21a: Isaac's prayer for a child), and is told that twins would be born, that nations would bear their names, and that he who to appearance was lesser would excel the greater.

This version of the oracle from God omits the enmity between the two boys — a point which is sufficiently stressed in Genesis. The lesser excelling the greater is likely to be Jos.' understanding of "the elder shall serve the younger." The other element of the oracle ("the one shall be stronger than the other") could be made to apply to either one of the boys, but most probably is meant to indicate Esau who, though stronger, will be the servant. Perhaps Jos. means to incorporate both parts of the prediction by stressing the *apparently* lesser (i.e., in strength *and* in age) as the one who is to outstrip the other.

Jos. will want to say something about Esau at a later point in his narrative (JA II/1-6), and therefore omits at this juncture the story of the selling of the birthright. Esau's ruddy complexion (Gen. 25/25) is not mentioned, nor, somewhat surprisingly, the etymology of Jacob's name (Gen. 25/26) nor the differing characteristics of the two brothers (Gen. 25/27). The rest of what Jos. has to say is Genesis: the birth of twins, the grasping of Esau's heel by Jacob, the etymology of Esau's name as derived from his excessively hairy physiognomy, the predilection of each parent for one or the other of the children. The name Esau (Gen.: *ēsāw* as somewhat indirectly suggested by *sē'ār*) our author says was given because the Hebrews call shaggy hair *ēsauron*.³ Evidently, the rather indirect character of the Genesis etymology (which relates "hairiness" to

² According to the chronological data afforded by Gen. 25/26 Jacob and Esau were born twenty-three years after the death of Sarah and fifteen years before the death of Abraham. In addition, Gen. 25/19-20, which introduces the story of the birth of the twins, makes it quite clear that we are now beginning the narration of a series of events which began *during* the life of Abraham.

³ This is the form of the word given by Niese, though he quotes many variants — so many, that it becomes somewhat pointless to discuss what Jos. had in mind, if indeed he had in mind anything that was in fact verifiable.

the name of the *country* of Esau, Seir) was a bit *too* indirect for Jos. and he has invented an origin for the name which is difficult to explain.⁴ More difficult to explain is why our author chose to experiment on the less intelligible name and leave aside the obvious (and, in effect, more important and significant) etymology of Jacob.

It should be noted in passing that the age of Isaac is frequently referred to by Genesis in this passage, and this includes his age at the time of his marriage and his age at the birth of the twins. Twenty years has in fact elapsed between the two events, and Jos.' unwillingness to refer to ages at all in his version doubtless indicates a desire to avoid this fact. The barrenness of Rebekah, as that of Sarah before her, is also not a point our author wishes to make known.

In line with Gen. 26/1, Isaac, because of a famine decides to go to Egypt (where, says Jos., the country was fruitful) but, at God's bidding, goes to Gerar. Jos. has already told us that Gerar is in Philistia (a piece of information derived doubtless from the present context), and he does not repeat this.⁵ Nor does he choose to mention the fact that this was the second famine after the former one of the days of Abraham.

The actual theophany of this section (Gen. 26/2-5) is omitted. It would not seem that this is because the matter contained therein is wholly embarrassing, even though the divine gift of the land in perpetuity is not a popular theme with Jos. The land in question here is apparently the land of the Philistines, and it might have suited Jos.' purposes quite well to indicate at this point at least a prediction of future victories over those who will sorely prove to be enemies of Israel at a later date. Nonetheless, the matter is dropped.

The deception of Abimelech is, as we have already indicated, by-passed by Jos., and a curious little account put into its place. According to our author, King Abimelech welcomed Isaac in virtue of his (Abimelech's) former friendship with and hospitality to Abraham, and at first showed Isaac the utmost benevolence. Jos. wants us to remember the relationship established between Abimelech and Abraham on the occasion of the latter's deception of the former, but has avoided calling to our attention the fact that Isaac is present in Gerar precisely because of the same reason which took Abraham to Egypt and occasioned the deception of Pharaoh. It is useless to put too fine a point on this coincidence. Of the three versions of the deception story, the third is the least interesting and, in a way, the least called for. Certainly the general good will of Abimelech regarding Isaac and his wife never comes into question therein, and is

⁴ Jos. however is readily aware of the relation between Esau's name and his country, Seir. Cf. *JA* I/336 and pp. 203-204 of this investigation.

⁵ The location of Gerar was mentioned by Jos. in I/207 in connection with Abraham's visit there.

eventually proven by his taking steps to see to their safety. This is perhaps the only point in the omitted story that Jos. thought worth making.⁶

We shall see, however, that Abimelech's perduring good will toward Abraham is another point which Jos. has wished to emphasize, because he will omit mention of the seemingly spiteful filling of Abraham's wells accomplished by the inhabitants of Gerar (Gen. 26/15) some time between the respective visits of Isaac and of his father.

In Genesis, the prosperity of Isaac causes some friction between him and Abimelech (Gen. 26/12-16), and this is now accounted for by Jos. Abimelech, says Jos., was prevented by envy from maintaining his good feelings toward Isaac, for seeing that God was with Isaac and showered such favours upon him, Abimelech cast him off. This is Genesis with little omitted but the details of just what divine favours were in question, and the aforementioned filling up of Abraham's wells.

At this juncture, Isaac goes elsewhere and begins his well-digging. The place to which he removed is called by Genesis the "valley of Gerar," but by Jos. "a place called the 'Ravine' not far from Gerar." It is obvious that Jos. has taken a common for a proper noun, but, though it is a minor point, one may be permitted to wonder why he has done so. The MT's *bnah̄al grār* went into the LXX's *en tēi pharaggi Gerarōn*. It may be a point in favour of Jos.' feeling for the language of his forefathers that the LXX may have suggested a proper noun by the inclusion of the article.⁷

The wells are now dug under conditions which more or less parallel Genesis, and each is named in much the fashion we find in the MT, Jos.' versions being: *Eskas*, *Stena* and *Roōbōth*. Jos. adds the sufficiently approximate etymologies: *Machē*, *Echthra* and *Eurychōron*. That Isaac set about redigging and renaming (according to their former designation) the wells of Abraham is not mentioned, in harmony with the already mentioned omission of the fact that Abraham's wells had been filled.

Jos. adds a little twist to each of the three occasions upon which a specific well is attempted. On the first occasion, the shepherds of Abimelech fell upon Isaac (not upon his shepherds), started a fight in order to stop the work (no motive given), and when Isaac declined a quarrel the shepherds of Abimelech claimed a victory. On the second occasion, Isaac is again the personal victim of attack and then also departs, purchasing his security by reasonable calculation. Finally, when accident enabled

⁶ In final comment on the question of why Jos. omits the third deception story, it might at least be suggested that our author was guided by the unlikelihood, not of two men practicing the same deception, but of two men practicing it on the same man.

⁷ Without meaning to put too fine a point on the matter, what is being suggested is that the LXX's *en tēi pharaggi Gerarōn* went into Jos.' *eis tēn legomenēn Pharagga chōrion* by way of a middle term which happened to be the frequent usage of the article in Hebrew to turn a common into a proper designation.

him to work unmolested, he digs his third well and names it appropriately (though Jos. does not put the point on the etymology as is done in Gen. 26/22). In order to make this little series of events flow more smoothly, our author puts off mentioning the names and etymologies of the other wells until after the third is properly designated. As short a fragment as this is of Jos.' version, it should not be overlooked that he has taken some trouble in making it into a small story of its own, incorporating little asides on the subjective attitudes of the protagonists which are not evident in Genesis.

The removal to Beersheba and its subsequent theophany (Gen. 26/23-25) are omitted. The interview with Abimelech which follows, therefore, is presumed to be taking place in the locale where Isaac was last able to settle in peace.

Gen. 26/26-31 relates a visit paid to Isaac by Abimelech. Arriving with his advisor and his commander-in-chief, Abimelech tells the rightly suspicious Isaac that he is now convinced God is with Isaac and that he wishes to make a covenant of peace with him. A feast is then set, and, early next morning, the oath is taken and the visitors depart.

Again obviously wanting to make this into a little incident of its own but eschewing too close an adherence to Genesis, Jos. fills in the details in this fashion. Isaac's power had steadily mounted through increasing wealth. Abimelech thinks this power a threat, for their relations had been strained while they lived together (the first we hear of this) and Isaac had departed dissimulating his hatred. Furthermore, Abimelech fears that former friendship will make little difference if Isaac should decide to take vengeance for his injuries. Isaac, on the other hand, is of such a good nature that he sets more store on ancient favours bestowed on himself and his father than upon recent injury. With these subjective elements in the background, Abimelech comes with one of his generals, Philoch (MT: Phicol), makes renewed overtures to Isaac, and, having obtained complete satisfaction, departs.⁸

In Jos. there is no feast, no over-night stay, no oath-taking, and no third visitor. Genesis refers specifically to Isaac's great wealth only in the context of his sojourn in Gerar itself (Gen. 26/13-14) but not thereafter. Also, the MT makes Abimelech speak specifically of the former accord between Isaac and himself, and of the peace in which Isaac was sent away. This sorts ill with Jos.' contention that the two had gotten on badly together while in Gerar and that Isaac had departed disguising his hatred. Genesis does not seem to underscore strong feelings, whereas Jos. definitely does. The contrast is noteworthy.

As already mentioned, this interview does not take place at Beersheba, so that the digging of a well there (Gen. 26/26) together with the sub-

⁸ It must be stated that the spelling "Philoch" or "Philōch" is not unknown to certain recensions of the LXX.

sequent striking of water and naming of the well on the occasion of the covenant (Gen. 26/32-33) are omitted. Doubtless the likeness to the whole Abrahamic episode (Gen. 21/22-32) is the root cause for the omission of the entire Beersheba theme.

The material regarding Esau's marriages in Genesis is somewhat inconsistent, to say the least. In Gen. 26/34 he takes his first two wives, and in 28/9 his third. But, in Genesis 36 the names of all three wives are given in a way which does not quite match the foregoing facts. The girls' names, as well as their fathers', are given in Genesis. The names of Genesis 36 stand in relation to those mentioned earlier in the following fashion:

Gen. 26 & 28	Gen. 36
Judith (daughter of Beeri the Hittite); Gen. 26/34	Oholibamah (daughter of Anah, son of Zibeon, the Hivite)
Basemath (daughter of Elon the Hittite); Gen. 26/34	Adah (daughter of Elon the Hittite)
Mahalath (daughter of Ishmael); Gen. 28/9	Basemath (daughter of Ishmael)

Jos. evidently knows enough about the various discrepancies of Genesis to be able to attempt a genuine harmonization when he wishes. He adopts the information as given in Genesis 36 and, with sufficient fidelity, adheres to it when giving his version of the first two marriages (in the present context) and when later accounting for the third.⁹

Esau at the age of forty, says Jos., married Ada and Alibamē who were daughters of Hēlōn and Eusebeōn respectively, Canaanite chieftains. That Oholibamah is rather grand-daughter of Zibeon (Jos.: Eusebeōn) in the list of Genesis 36 has not troubled our author, nor does the fact that these chiefs are Hivite and Hittite. But he is obviously following the order of Genesis 36 when he mentions Ada first.¹⁰

The little aside of Genesis that these two wives made life bitter for Isaac and Rebekah is replaced by our author with a notice of Isaac's general displeasure over the whole proceeding. The marriages, says Jos., were contracted on Esau's own responsibility, for his father would never have given permission for such since he had no desire to form ties with

⁹ The later context is *JA* I/277; in this investigation, pp. 184-185.

¹⁰ This remark may be slightly confusing in the light of the comparative lists of Esau's wives given in the text of this investigation. In the comparative lists, the consecutive verses from Genesis 26 and 28 are the basis of comparison and their opposite numbers from Genesis 36 are lined up against them irrespective of the order in which the latter appear in the original. In fact, Genesis 36 presents the order as: Adah, Basemath, Oholibamah. It is the order of Genesis 36 that Jos. has in mind, but as Basemath is taken to represent the third wife (Mahalath in Gen. 28/9), the order given by our author for the first two wives of Esau is: Adah (Jos.: Ada), Oholibamah (Jos.: Alibame).

the local population. But, because he did not wish to court Esau's enmity by ordering him to separate from these wives, Isaac held his peace.

The account of Esau's marriages prepares the way for the eventual dispatch of Jacob to seek a wife elsewhere. It is perhaps noteworthy, however, that in the present instance Isaac once again is made the chief figure and Rebekah, once again, a bit removed from the picture. We have seen this happening rather consistently throughout these little episodes in Isaac's life, beginning with the fact that it was Isaac's concern to go and consult God respecting the prospective birth of the twins, and including the omission of the entire incident involving the deception of Abimelech over Rebekah's identity. In Genesis Isaac does not seem terribly concerned over marriages with the indigenous population, in contrast to the attitude of Abraham. We shall see that the emphasis placed on Isaac's disapproval of Canaanite women at this point allows Jos. a little later to de-emphasize the rôle played by Rebekah in the rescue of Jacob from his brother.

(b)

Jacob will now move to the centre of the stage of our narrative and remain there for the rest of this chapter and during the entirety of the one following. For so major a figure of Genesis he receives no special introduction from Jos. at this point of his version. One might well expect such treatment of Isaac who tends, as we have noted, to disappear into the histories of either his father or his sons. Jacob unquestionably has a story and personality of his own, however, and the somewhat light and rapid handling he receives from our author contrasts clearly with that given to both Abraham and Joseph.

The principal theme of the present episode is Jacob's journey to Mesopotamia (Gen. 28/10-22) and the events which led up to it (Gen. 27/1 - 28/9).

The opening scene takes place between Isaac and Esau, and is given by Jos. much as it is in Genesis. There is introduced into Isaac's request for food, however, a direct reference on his part to his loss of vision and his own inability to minister to God due to old age. Jos. may be fashioning Isaac's words as an excuse for not going and getting the food for himself. The introduction of the inability to minister any more is curious. It raises at least the possibility that our author wishes to think of the meal as a type of sacrifice at or after which the blessing of God will be invoked upon Esau. Jos. gives no indication that the food requested is a favourite dish of Isaac's.¹¹

¹¹ The meal which Esau is to prepare is called *deipnon* by Isaac in the *JA*, *ma'ammim* in the *MT*. Both *Pirke deRabbi Eliezer* (Ch. 32) and *Targum Pseud. Jon.* (at Gen. 27/1) take the line that the occasion for the events of Genesis 27 was

In Genesis, what happens next takes place mainly between Rebekah and Jacob, but Rebekah's rôle is drastically reduced. She does not overhear the conversation between Isaac and Esau, much less tell Jacob of it. Rather, according to our author, she is determined to invoke God's favour upon Jacob in spite of Isaac's intention (howsoever discovered!) and so tells Jacob to kill some kids and prepare a meal.¹² Thereafter Jacob is the more active member of the conspiracy. Jacob prepares the meal (albeit under his mother's instructions; cf. Gen. 27/9 & 14 where Rebekah prepares the food), and it is he who undertakes to place the skin of a kid on his *arm* for fear that Isaac's discovery of the intended deception would bring a curse rather than a blessing (cf. Gen. 27/12 for the fear of a curse).

Genesis makes so much better a job of this stage of the narrative that one can hardly avoid concluding that Jos. is deliberately sacrificing better and more cogent story-telling to alterations which he is determined to make in certain details. There is little elaboration in Jos. Only Jacob's arm (not his hands and neck) is covered by the skin;¹³ he is not dressed in Esau's best garments (Gen. 27/15); the menu is not underscored by being denominated "savoury" or by the addition of bread. Jos. merely indicates that the deception, as far as it went, was sufficient, for Jacob, being Esau's twin, was similar to him in all else but his hirsuteness.

The dialogue between Jacob and Isaac is not quoted by Jos. and the scene is quite abbreviated. Although Jacob is not even said to have addressed his father, Jos. has Isaac recognize Jacob by the peculiarity of his voice and call him near, at which Jacob extends his arm wrapped in the skin and Isaac is allowed to make his famous exclamation in direct discourse (Esau's tell-tale hands being transmuted into the thickness of

Passover. Both these sources (*PRE*, *ibid.*, *TPJ*, 27/9) also maintain that of the two kids brought in by Jacob one was the Paschal offering, the other the raw material for Isaac's supper. The *Targum* (loc. cit.), chiming in with a statement of Tosefta's (Pesahim, 5/3), interprets Isaac's supper (*ma'ammitim*) as a festival sacrifice. In the present context, is Jos. thinking along any of these lines? S. RAPPAPORT deems it doubtful (*Agada und Exegese* . . . (Frankfurt a. M.: 1930), footnote 108, p. 109). While there is no room for arguing that Jos. had in mind any or all of the various details contained in the above-quoted sources, I think it obvious from the little he does say that the meal Isaac wishes prepared has some sort of sacrificial character. There is no mention at all in Jos., either on the part of Isaac or on the part of Rebekah, of Isaac's own predilection for the kind of food to be prepared and this is a point which Genesis has both Isaac and Rebekah make. Secondly, there is some obvious connection in Jos. between Isaac's inability to minister to God, as he says, and his inability to do what he is asking of Esau, namely, to go, catch, and prepare the food.

¹² In the MT, the number of animals to be killed for the meal is quite definite: two (Gen. 27/9). In Jos., the number remains vague and indefinite.

¹³ There is a tradition (recorded in *Genesis Rabbah*, 65/17) that the limbs of Jacob were enormous so that to cover his hands his mother must have sewn the skins of several animals together. This source, like Jos., makes no mention of the skin placed upon Jacob's neck. Our author, in having Jacob place the skin on one arm only, may be following the tradition which suspected that the skins of two kids were not sufficient for all the purposes the MT proposed.

his hair to avoid mentioning the things that Jacob has not in fact disguised). Thereupon Isaac, satisfied of Jacob's identity as Esau, supped and then, turning to prayer, invoked God.

We miss, therefore, the direct question to Jacob about his identity, the cautious wonderment of Isaac that the food could be prepared so quickly (along with Jacob's reply thereto), the second direct question about identity, and Isaac's recognition of the odour of his elder son. Yet this is not the first time, nor will it be the last, that the details of Genesis have been passed over to the lessening of the story's human interest.

Isaac's blessing of the disguised Jacob is in direct discourse and accounts but for two elements of the Genesis version of this piece. The rest Jos. improvises. Jos. has Isaac address God as Lord of all ages and Creator of universal being.¹⁴ Because, continues Isaac, this same God bestowed on Abraham an abundance of good things, giving to Isaac all that he in fact possesses and promising to Isaac's descendants His aid and even greater blessings, Isaac now asks that God not scorn his present infirmity by reason of which he needs Him the more and that He protect his son and preserve him from every touch of ill. These are all Jos.' additions to the present context, though doubtless some are clearly inspired by other parts of Genesis.

The rest of the blessing is more or less based on Gen. 27/28 and the last portion of Gen. 27/29. God is asked to grant Isaac's son a blissful life and the possession of all good things that God has in His power to bestow. The final request is that this son be a terror to his foes but a treasure and delight to his friends. Based as they surely are on the thoughts of Genesis, these sentiments stand in strong contrast to the earthiness and simplicity of the older version.

Isaac's interview with Esau is likewise shortened, losing almost as much by such treatment as does the preceding sequence. The tragically human potentialities of this encounter are given short shrift by Jos. Esau is now made to arrive on the scene. Without telling us how Isaac became aware of what has happened or how Esau is apprised of the foregoing events, Jos. simply says that with the arrival of Esau the father perceived his error but held his peace and that Esau, having asked his father for the same blessing as was bestowed on his brother and having been refused because Isaac had exhausted all his prayers on Jacob, loudly lamented his disappointment.

This vapid narrative pieces together Esau's persistent requests (Gen.

¹⁴ In Greek this reads: *despota pantos aiōnos kai dēmiourge tēs holēs ousias*. Despite the slightly off-putting inflation of style, Jos. has some warrant in LXX usage for *despotēs*. It is the second title that strikes a note unheard in any known Greek version of the Jewish Scriptures. When first describing Abraham's abilities as natural theologian, however, Jos. has said that the patriarch was the first to declare boldly that God, the creator of the universe (*dēmiourgos tōn holōn*), is one. Cf. JA I/155 and p. 119 of this investigation.

27/34, 36 and 38) and Isaac's continuing refusal (Gen. 27/35 and 37). Esau's lamentation is also a feature of Genesis (27/34, 36 and 38). Missing in Jos. is any outcry against Jacob himself, or any reference to his being the supplanter. The enmity between the brothers and the supplanting aspect of Jacob's rôle in Genesis are themes Jos. has avoided up to now and, in this, he remains consistent within the present context.

The blessing of Esau which Jos. has Isaac, moved by the tears of his son, eventually give is based on fragments of Genesis. "By your sword you shall live..." lies behind Isaac's pronouncement that Esau would be renowned in the chase and for strength of body in arms and in labours of all kinds, though there is a distinct echo here of Gen. 25/27 which our author has not taken account of so far. The portion of this blessing which assures Esau that his posterity would reap an age-long reputation for all these aspects of physical valour is less obviously, if at all, suggested by Genesis itself. Finally, however, the fact that Esau is to serve his brother comes directly from Gen. 27/40.

The matter with which we are familiar as comprising Gen. 27/41 - 28/5 is now told swiftly and directly. Rebekah's rôle is again somewhat altered. Jacob is aware (we are not told how) that Esau wishes to avenge himself for being defrauded of the benedictions. Jacob is in terror because of this and is rescued by his mother who persuades Isaac to take a wife for their son from kinfolk in Mesopotamia.

There is nothing in our author, therefore, about Esau's brooding declaration of his intention to kill Jacob after Isaac's death, nor about the report of this to Rebekah, nor about Rebekah's persuasion of Jacob to flee from Esau's anger, nor about Isaac's final colloquy with Jacob. In Genesis, Rebekah persuades Isaac only of the inadvisability of a marriage between Jacob and a woman such as Esau had married, leaving it to Isaac to dispatch Jacob to Mesopotamia specifically in order to marry one of Laban's daughters. Jos. makes Rebekah the source of the idea of a marriage with a Mesopotamian relative, and who this relative actually is we will be told in a moment. The designation of the girl is also the work of Rebekah.

Before Jacob is actually sent away, however, Jos. wants to say something about Esau's third marriage (Gen. 28/6-9). Genesis would have it that the third wife was taken after the departure of Jacob, the causes being both the displeasure of Isaac and Rebekah over the first two women and Jacob's good example in obeying his father by going off to Mesopotamia. Though Jos. mentions the third marriage at this juncture, he indicates that it had occurred previous to this time, giving as reason for the action something approximating one of the motives mentioned in Genesis: the displeasure of Isaac *and his family* with the former alliances. Jacob's good example is not alluded to because this third marriage is said to have been contracted before the events leading up to Jacob's

departure. We are free to wonder whether this little shift in chronology is adopted specifically in order to avoid the allusion to Jacob. As already noted, the name of Esau's third wife is taken not from Gen. 28/9 but from Genesis 36.¹⁵ Jos. adds the comment that Esau was deeply devoted to his third choice.

Jacob is now sent off by his mother, says Jos., to espouse the daughter of her brother Laban, Isaac consenting to the marriage in compliance with his wife's wishes. By thus returning to the context of the narrative of Jacob's dispatch to Mesopotamia, Jos. emphasizes the fact that this departure takes place after the third marriage of Esau which he has just finished recounting. One notices at once that all real initiative has been removed from Isaac, who merely consents to what has been suggested to him. Jacob is not dispatched by his father but by his mother, and it is her idea that the object of the journey be specifically *the* daughter (Gen. 28/2: "...one of the daughters...") of Laban. Genesis certainly indicates that Rebekah wished Jacob to flee to Laban, but it is only *implied* that she wished him to marry there, and it is not really indicated at all that she had some specific female, or set of females, in mind. For whatever reason, Jos. has taken up a definite stand on the position of Rebekah in all this, details for the elaboration of which he has evidently gleaned from passages he has not chosen formally to incorporate into his version.

Jacob now undertakes his journey, passing through Canaan, according to Jos. who, once again and in harmony with his established policy, omits mention of Beersheba as the starting-point of the journey. Haran as the ultimate destination occurs here in Genesis, but will be noted by Jos. only when Jacob finally arrives there. Our author attributes a motive to Jacobs' sleeping in the open by informing us that the traveller did not seek lodging of the inhabitants of Canaan because of his hatred for them.

Resting his head on the stones he has collected, Jacob now dreams the dream which, as a vision, is narrated by Jos. much as it is in Genesis. He introduces but one noteworthy change. The angels seen ascending and descending in Genesis are transmuted into phantoms (*opseis*) of nature more august than the nature of mortals and these, for whatever reason, only descend.

The message of the theology as it occurs in Genesis is virtually duplicated by Jos., but he will add the themes of general encouragement in face of present trial and the promise of a future marriage. The version is somewhat interesting for the way in which it treats some of the more recurring formulae of the MT.

The introductory of Genesis is: "I am the Lord, the God of Abraham your father and the God of Isaac." Jos. has Jacob called first by name and then addressed as the offspring of a good sire and a grandsire who

¹⁵ Cf. pp. 180-181 of this investigation.

won renown for exceeding virtue. The theme of encouragement is now introduced. Jacob is not to feel sorrow over his present lot but to hope for better things; abundant and abiding blessings await him by God's aid. We now return to the introductory of the MT: God led Abraham from Mesopotamia to Canaan when he was driven forth by kinsmen; God has brought Jacob's father to prosperity.

We must note in passing the slight detail inserted about Abraham who, Jos. has just said, had fled Mesopotamia when driven forth by *kinsmen*. This is an aspect of the migration of Abraham upon which our author failed to touch when treating the matter in the initial phases of Abraham's life. There, Jos. merely said that it was the Chaldaeans and other peoples of Mesopotamia who rose against Abraham because of his theological opinions and *occasioned* Abraham's decision to migrate.¹⁶

Genesis continues with the theme of land-possession: "The land on which you lie I will give to you and to your descendants." This is now generally incorporated by Jos.' having God promise that the portion to be bestowed on Jacob will not be less than his two forebears. Re-introducing the theme of courage, and alluding to the final theme of Genesis which promises God's abiding presence, the certainty of the future marriage is now guaranteed.

The great number of Jacob's subsequent posterity, the dominion of the land (once again), and a return to the theme of countless descendants spread over a wide area all represent the matter of Genesis. The last of these ideas, however, is somewhat rhetorically rendered in Jos. by the promise that Jacob's posterity shall fill all that the sun beholds of earth and sea. The repetition of the exhortation to courage, coupled with the promise of God's abiding presence (Gen. 28/15), concludes the theology.

In Genesis Jacob, upon awakening, feels somewhat overawed. This Jos. will eventually say also, but at present remarks only that Jacob was overjoyed, not troubling to tell us that he had awakened in the meantime. Jacob polishes the stones upon which he had been sleeping during the vision, and makes two vows: to sacrifice upon these stones should he return unscathed after gaining a livelihood, and to tithe to God all he had acquired if he came back in such a fashion. Jacob, says Jos., held

¹⁶ The picture of which this detail is a part is painted by Jos. in *JA* I/151-157 (pp. 117-121 of this investigation). Jos., in the present context, is careless in his use of Mesopotamia (instead of Chaldaea), but this carelessness has already been noted in his treatment of the above-mentioned and earlier episode (cf. pp. 119-120 of this investigation). In that earlier context, we had occasion to refer to the *Book of Judith* (5/6-8) but it is the present context which would benefit by quoting what is obviously a close parallel to what Jos. is saying: "This people are descended of the Chaldaeans; and they sojourned heretofore in Mesopotamia, because they were not minded to follow the gods of their fathers which were in the land of the Chaldaeans. And they departed from the way of their parents and worshipped the God of heaven, the God whom they knew; and they cast them out from the face of their gods, and they fled into Mesopotamia, and sojourned there many days."

the spot in veneration and named it "Bethel" which, in Greek, is "God's hearth-stone" (*theia hestia*).

Jos., doubtless making a point of consistency, retains the stones in the plural in this context but also avoids saying that any sort of single monument was erected. Instead of anointing a single *stēlē* in a fashion which denotes religious consecration, Jacob is made merely, and for whatever reason, to polish his collection of improvised pillows. One has the impression that although Jos. intends these stones as a future altar of some kind, their preparation for that particular use has more to do with masonry than with religious sentiment.

Genesis does not connect the stone specifically with future sacrifice as does Jos. in the content of the first vow of Jacob and, most probably, in the translation which he gives to "Bethel". Two things which Genesis does contain that are omitted by Jos. are: the solemn declaration of Jacob that the Lord shall be his God; and the reference to the former name of Bethel (i.e., Luz). The allusion of Genesis to the formal adopting of the Lord in place of just any god would probably have had little significance for Jos., so that his omission of it is not all that surprising. Regarding Luz, however, it may be relevant to note that its name may have something to do with the detail, included at the beginning of Jacob's arrival at Bethel, according to which he was said to have slept in the open owing to his hatred of the Canaanites.¹⁷

(c)

This present phase of Jacob's life will take us from the arrival at Haran to the birth of Joseph (Gen. 29/1 - 30/24), and it contains the only real effort on Jos.' part to elaborate the material with which we are treating in this chapter. As is well known, many episodes of Genesis have parallels and reduplications, and we have already seen the interest Jos. has taken in the scene at the well which was part of the story of the acquiring of Rebekah for Isaac. Either out of predilection for this particular theme, or for some other reason, Jos. gives special attention to Jacob's encounter with Rachel at the well — the episode which initiates

¹⁷ Luz (MT: *lūz*) is rendered *Oulam*lous by the LXX. The Greek name could have suggested something sinister about the inhabitants of the place even though the Bible says nothing directly about this. In Greek, *oulamos* is a band of warriors and the syllable *oulam-* is prefixed to various words and brings with it a reference to armed might (e.g., *oulamēphoros oulamoergos, oulamōnymos*). Another possible source of this detail about fear of the local populace may be the words of the MT themselves (Gen. 29/17): "And he (Jacob) was afraid and said, 'How awesome is this place!'" The fear and the words are, of course, the result of the dream, but exegetical tradition sometimes sunders the relation between cause and effect which exists in the text of the MT and goes about seeking other reasons for the occurrence of this or that event; and perhaps this is what our author is up to. In any case, Luz receives quite a good press from some (cf. *Genesis Rabbah*, 69/8).

the present series of events. It might be well to pose at this juncture the theoretical question which surely has been, and will again be, prompted by the method of Jos.' version: how many differences can be tolerated before admitting the fact that we have before us a different story altogether?

The MT's rather vague designation of the destination of Jacob is made specific by Jos.: Mesopotamia (generally), Haran (specifically). Our author excises the emphasis which Genesis places on the nature of the well at which Jacob arrives for there is no stone covering it, and hence there is no real need for the shepherds to be gathered simultaneously there other than their desire at that particular time for water, and there will be no opportunity given Jacob to remove the stone to water the flocks of his relatives.

The individual details which Jos. introduces, however, are many and follow one another in close succession. There are both men and maidens at the well to which Jacob proceeds because he wishes to drink. Omitting the question about the place of origin of the shepherds (Gen. 29/4), Jos. has Jacob ask directly about Laban (Gen. 29/5) and whether he still lived (possibly based on the otherwise omitted question of Jacob in Gen. 29/6: "Is it well with him?"). Those at the well answer that they know Laban (Gen. 29/5), adding that such a man as he could not remain unknown (possibly based on the otherwise omitted response to Jacob's question of Gen. 29/6).

Mention of Laban's daughter Rachel is now made by the shepherds, Jos. adding that they expressed wonder over why she had not yet arrived and that they told Jacob (in direct discourse) that it was from her that he could learn all he wished to know about the family. Since the stone on the well is not part of Jos.' picture, Jacob's question and its answer (Gen. 29/7-8) are omitted, so that it is while *the shepherds* are still speaking that Rachel arrives among the last of the shepherds to descend to the well.

The first stage of the encounter between Jacob and Rachel (Gen. 29/10-11) is reformed by Jos. altogether. Genesis merely has Jacob see Rachel and her flocks, open the well to water them, kiss Rachel and weep. Our author approaches this meeting differently. The shepherds inform Rachel that the stranger had asked about her father, and she, possessed with childish delight at Jacob's coming and asking him his identity, provenance and business, expressed the hope that it might be within her power to supply what he wished. Jacob, in turn, was moved not so much by their kinship and its consequent affection as by his love for Rachel whose beauty, being such as few women of those days could show, amazed him.

Rachel's beauty is indeed a theme of Genesis (29/17) and Jacob's love for her is virtually proverbial (Gen. 29/20 and 30), but none of this is

brought out in the first stage of Genesis' development of the plot. The kiss of Jacob will be transferred to a slightly later context.

The next step in this encounter as described by Genesis has Jacob reveal his identity, telling Rachel he is her father's kinsman and Rebekah's son. This piece of information forms but one declaration in a somewhat flowery speech which Jos. now puts into Jacob's mouth in the form of direct address. Jacob tells the girl that since she is Laban's daughter the kinship which unites them stems from before the birth of either of them. Abraham, Haran and Nahor were sons of Terah, and Bethuel, Rachel's grandfather, was born to Nahor. From Abraham and Sarah, the daughter of Haran, came Jacob's father Isaac; but there is a more recent pledge of kinship uniting them, for Rebekah, Jacob's mother, is the sister of Rachel's father Laban. Since their parents had the same father and mother, Rachel and Jacob are cousins and he has now come to salute her family and to renew the already existing alliance between himself and them.

The only thing that Jos. seems to be unwilling for Jacob to reveal is his own name, but in this our author, perhaps without really intending to do so, is following Genesis. It should be noted, however, that Jos. is at least consistent in continuing to maintain that Sarah is Haran's daughter.¹⁸

In the final stage of the encounter at the well, Jos. again attempts a full-scale alteration of the story. In Genesis, Rachel goes to call her father, and Laban comes out to meet, embrace and kiss his sister's son. Jos. has Rachel do nothing like this at all. Recalling what she had heard her father tell of Rebekah and how her parents longed to have word of Laban's sister, Rachel, from filial affection and as young people are wont to do, burst into tears and tenderly embraced Jacob.

Jos. goes on to emphasize just how much Jacob's coming was welcome to Laban by having Rachel now say that Jacob has brought her father and their house the most cherished and keenest of pleasures, for her father was devoted to Rebekah's memory and dwelt only upon it; Jacob's coming would appear to Laban worth more than every blessing in the world. Rachel then bids Jacob follow her straight to her father and not deprive him any longer of this pleasure.

Thus does Jos. bring it about that Jacob and Rachel finally at least embrace, if not kiss. The important thing in the present context is that Rachel extends this gesture of welcome instead of Laban, and it is she and not her father who conducts Jacob to the house. This follows in a curiously close fashion the turn that Jos. gives the story of Rebekah who, on a similar occasion, is made to conduct the stranger to the house in lieu of Laban. All the emphasis placed upon the delight Laban will ex-

¹⁸ For the fact that Sarah is Ischah, cf. *JA* I/151 and p. 117 of this investigation.

perience at Jacob's coming may well be a literary counterweight to the rather unflattering light in which subsequent events will place Rachel's father.

The meeting with Laban is conducted by Jos. with dispatch, for he merely says that Laban recognized Jacob (cf. Gen. 29/14: "And Laban said to him, 'Surely you are my bone and my flesh.'"). There is no conversation between the men (Gen. 29/13), but Jacob is said to have felt secure now among friends and to have afforded them great pleasure by his unlooked-for appearance. Genesis' final note (that Jacob stayed a month) is alluded to at the beginning of the very next episode.

The interview over the marriage agreement is inordinately lengthy in Jos. by contrast to the few verses which Genesis devotes thereto (Gen. 29/15-19), two of which verses Jos. will not even account for. The conversation progresses through two stages, the first of which is not in Genesis. It has for its purpose the establishing of Jacob's reasons for coming to visit Laban.

A few days after Jacob's arrival (cf. the month's stay of Gen. 29/14) Laban is said to have told Jacob that his presence afforded more joy than he could say and to have asked the visitor for what reason he had come and left his parents at an age when they needed his care. Laban assures Jacob of his aid in every need.

Jacob is made to respond to the question by rehearsing the events which led up to his departure in much the same fashion that Genesis (and Jos.) make the servant relate to Rebekah's relatives the history of his embassy. Isaac had twin sons, himself and Esau. Jacob's reason for coming thither in compliance with his mother's wish was that Esau had been defrauded of his father's blessings which his mother's artifice had bestowed upon Jacob and for that reason Esau sought to kill Jacob for depriving him of God's destined gift of the kingdom and the benefits invoked by his father. In seeming explanation of why it should be Laban to whom Jacob has fled, Jos. has Jacob conclude by declaring (in direct discourse) that his and Laban's grandfathers were brothers, Rebekah bringing their relationship still closer, and that he, having placed himself during his sojourn under Laban's protection, had confidence in his present state.

The rest of this tediously long conversation follows, more or less, what is contained in Genesis (29/15 and 18-19), although Jos. has not yet finished his exercise in rhetoric. Laban promises to show Jacob every kindness in the name of their ancestors and for Rebekah's sake, affection for the latter being displayed in her absence by solicitude for her son. Laban promises to make Jacob overseer of his flocks and to accord him privileges for these services (Gen. 29/15), though, if Jacob wished to depart homeward, he would go with such presents and honours befitting a near kinsman.

Jos. says that Jacob welcomed this speech and said he would gladly stay and endure any labour to please Laban. For wages he asked for Rachel (Gen. 29/18) who on all grounds deserved his esteem and not least for her ministry in bringing him to Laban. The love Jacob bears Rachel forces him to speak thus (Gen. 29/18).

Laban is now said to have been delighted with these words. He consents to the marriage, saying he could not have prayed for a better son-in-law (cf. Gen. 29/19: "It is better that I give her to you rather than to any other man."). His condition is that Jacob should abide some time with him (Gen. 29/19) for Laban did not wish to send Rachel off among the Canaanites and regretted that his own sister's marriage had been contracted in such a locale.

Genesis ends the conversation here, but Jos. has postponed until now all reference to the seven-year period which Jacob is to spend before Rachel is his. This is now taken up by having Jacob both approve Laban's above-mentioned condition and contract for a period of seven years during which period Jacob resolved to serve his father-in-law in order to give proof of his worth and to allow it to appear what manner of man he was. Laban is then said to have accepted Jacob's proposal and the interview ends.

Despite the over-long character of this conversation there are some interesting points about it. Genesis being a bit elliptical at this juncture, Jos. takes the opportunity to make Laban clearly offer Jacob a position among his employees. The demand that Jacob abide with Laban is rationalized in such a way as to prepare the way for the implication that the seven-year period is a mere clarification of what Laban has asked as a condition for his consent to the marriage. This would explain why Jos. has moved the mention of the seven years into the position where it appears in his version. The fact that Jos. does not make the point even clearer could perhaps be due to a plurality of exegetical traditions related to this section, for he so arranges his matter that both the period of residence and the seven-year "clarification" are explicable on their own, even though they are distinctly brought together in the form in which Jos. expresses Jacob's agreement to Laban's condition.

Jos. has the marriages of Jacob follow the course charted by Genesis (29/20-30). Omitting mention of the service performed by Jacob and of his subsequent demand that Laban fulfill the agreement, we move at once to Laban's preparation of the nuptial banquet. That Jacob was deluded by the substitution of Leah for Rachel is put down by our author to Jacob's unconscious state at the time of her arrival, though he also includes wine and darkness as conditions which aided the deception. When Laban is accused of perfidy next morning after the discovery of the substitution, Jos. makes him apologize but say that necessity had constrained him to act so, for he had given Leah to Jacob not out of

malice but from another more overpowering motive. What this motive is, Jos. does not tell us.

Jacob is now offered Rachel also, if he loves her and will wait another seven years, our author saying nothing explicit about the fact that these would be seven *working* years. Jacob accepts, his love of Rachel offering him no choice, and, after the lapse of the seven years, he won Rachel.¹⁹

What becomes increasingly clear throughout all this is that the function of the seven years is not understood by Jos. as related directly to the labour which they obviously and logically involve. The labour expended by Jacob over these periods is an element quietly but consistently expunged by our author, and his entire presentation of the original agreement between Jacob and Laban is not only in harmony with this omission, but must also be read in the light of it.

Genesis introduces us to Zilpah and Bilhah, the maids of Leah and Rachel respectively, during the course of the tale of Jacob's two successive marriages (Gen. 29/24 and 29). Jos. puts off mentioning them until initiating his description of the birth of Jacob's children which begins now. These two maids, says Jos., were given to his daughters by Laban, but, he adds, they were in no way slaves but subordinates.²⁰ Leah, grievously mortified over Jacob's passion for Rachel and hoping to win his esteem by childbearing, prayed to God continually.

Jacob's predilection for Rachel is clear from Genesis (29/30), but Leah's reaction to this can really only be gathered from the various statements quoted of her on the occasions when she gives names to her children. Her prayer to God takes the place of the initiative action of God (Gen. 29/31) in granting her children when He saw she was hated. Rachel's sterility is not mentioned by Jos.

When dealing with the births and namings, it will be best to see Jos.' treatment directly vis-à-vis the MT's account. The operative words at the base of the MT's etymology will be underlined. Jos.' own spellings of the names in question will be employed throughout.²¹

¹⁹ According to the MT (Gen. 29/28) Jacob is given Rachel immediately after completing the "week" of Leah — i.e., the usual seven days of the wedding festival for Leah. By the time the festival is completed, Jacob has two wives, his promise having been given to Laban to work another seven years in return for the favour of receiving Rachel. Jos. clearly changes this by having Jacob work the seven years for Rachel *before* receiving her.

²⁰ In fact, some traditions would have it that Bilhah and Zilpah were daughters of Laban by a concubine (*Pirke deRabbi Eliezer*, Ch. 36). Sisters they certainly are in several sources (*Test. of Naphtali*, I/9-12; *Book of Jubilees*, 28/9) and *Genesis Rabbah* (74/13) makes them Laban's daughters without qualification. The tradition recorded by *Pirke deRabbi Eliezer* however is also that of the *Targum Pseud. Jon.* (at Gen. 29/24, 29).

²¹ Heinrich BLOCK (*Die Quellen des Flavius Josephus in seiner Archaeologie* (Leipzig: 1879) examines the etymologies Jos. gives to various names and, on p. 14 of his work, delivers the following opinion: "Die Erklärungen der Namen Symeōn, Leui und Ioudas, von Dan, Nephthaleim, Gadas und Asēr, Issacharis, Zaboulōn, Iōsēpos sind

Without mentioning the intervention of God (in answer, that is, to the continued prayer Jos. has had Leah make), the first four children are born to Jacob and named as follows:

Jos.

GENESIS

Roubēlos

...her husband's affection being consequently drawn towards her (she called her son "Roubelos") because he had come to her through the mercy (*kat eleon*) of God; for that is the meaning of the name.

Because the Lord has *looked* upon my affliction; surely now my husband will love me.

Jos.

GENESIS

Symeōn

...the name signifying that God had hearkened (*epēkoon gegonenai*) to her.

Because the Lord had *heard* that I am hated, he has given me this son also.

Lewis

...that is to say "*koinōnias be-baiōtēs*".

Now this time my husband will be *joined* to me because I have borne him three sons.

Ioudas

... which denotes "*eucharistia*".

This time I will *praise* the Lord.

That Jos. gives the same form of the name of Jacob's first son as appears in the Syriac Version of Genesis seems clear. I should suggest that the basis of his etymology (which does not *seem* to follow the MT) is not to be looked for beyond the root *R²H* itself.²²

Rachel, for fear that her sister's fecundity would lessen her own share in her husband's affection, now gives Bilhah to Jacob. Jos. thus

mit den biblischen identisch". As will be seen, this is certainly not true of Jos.' etymology of the name "Naphtali" (cf. p. 194 of this investigation). In fact, all of Jos.' etymologies of the names of Jacob's sons differ in some respect or other from the MT's presentation.

²² By this is meant that the MT phrase employs *R²H* with the prepositional prefix *b-* so that what is translated in the main body of this investigation as "the Lord has looked upon my affliction" can in effect mean "the Lord has looked *with pity* upon my affliction". *R²H* + *b-* has this same meaning, for instance, in I Sam. 1/11. The element of pity is, therefore, present in the MT's etymology also and it is upon this that Jos. builds *his* explanation, for it is certainly *eleos* which is the (and probably the only) operative element for our author. The second syllable of *Roubēlos* is what he is pointing to and probably nothing more. The opinion of H. BLOCK (*op. cit.*, p. 14) — that Jos.' etymology is based upon *R²H* + *ʿL* — is, of course, possible. If I am correct, however, and Jos. has neglected accounting for the first syllable of the name and bases the second on a Greek word, we have here another case of Jos. finding the significance of Semitic names in the vocabulary of another language group (cf. pp. 155-156 of this investigation).

omits the scene between Jacob and Rachel (Gen. 20/1-3), and Rachel's envy is transmuted into fear of Jacob's alienation from her.

The sons born to Bilhah and named by Rachel were:

Jos.

GENESIS

Dan

...which might be rendered
"theokritos" in Greek.

God has *judged* me and has also
heard my voice and given me a
son.

Nephthaleis

...that is to say "*mēchanētos*"
because his mother had outman-
œuvred her sister's fecundity.

With mighty *wrestlings* have I
wrestled with my sister and have
prevailed.

It is at least to be suggested that Jos.' etymology of Nephthaleis is not in fact that of Genesis, though the tone of "*antitechnasasthai pros tēn euteknian*" may reflect the general meaning of the Hebrew. The operative concept of "wrestle" is not reproduced by Jos.

Leah, says Jos., responds by the same stratagem as that used by her sister, and to Zilpah, Leah's maid, are born the two sons whom Leah names:

Jos.

GENESIS

Gadas

. . . we may call him "*tychaaios*".

Good fortune!

Asēros

... or, as we may say, "*makaristēs*",
because of this addition to the
woman's fame (*eukleia*).

Happy am I! For the women
will call me *happy*.

In line with Genesis, Jos. leads into the birth of Leah's last three children through the discovery of the mandrakes. Our author does not tell us when this happened (Gen. 30/14: "In the days of the wheat harvest...") and calls the mandrakes discovered by Rubel "*apples* of the mandrakes." The bargain is struck between the two wives as it is in Genesis, but Rachel is said to have made the proposal in order to appease Leah's wrath and Jacob's consent thereto is said by our author to have been given in order to please Rachel. Two boys and a girl, Dinah, are born to Leah in succession. The boys are named by Leah as follows:

Jos.

GENESIS

Issacharēs

...meaning "*ho ek misthou geno-
menos*".

God has given me my *hire* because
I gave my maid to my husband.

Zaboulōn

... "ēnechyrasmenos eunoia_i tē_i pros autēn". God has *endowed* me with a good *dowry*; now my husband will *honour* (?) me because I have borne him six sons.

Later, and without benefit of divine intervention (Gen. 30/22), Jos. says that Rachel also bore a son, naming him:

Iōsēpos

... signifying "*prosthēkē genēsomenou tinos*". God has *taken away* my reproach. May the Lord *add* to me another son.

Up until the time it became unavoidably apparent that Jos. has so deliberately avoided emphasis upon or idealization of the theme of Jacob's replacement of Esau as the "elder son" and therefore the "inheritor of the promise", it had been intended to characterize this chapter with the title of "The Supplanter". Jos. is not really interested in the aspect of the history of his own people which made their identity emerge from, and continue to depend upon, the covenantal promise made by a particular God to an identifiable set of human beings. Promises tend to become mere predictions of future triumph and prosperity, while the all-important right of the first-born is left to languish in the obscurity of a generalization or transmuted into the right to an integral and undivided inheritance. God's favour is the right and just reward for virtue. Equipped with such evident presuppositions it is not surprising that Jos. manages to reduce the depth of the traditions with which he is dealing to such astonishing shallowness.

Nevertheless, our author does have a story to tell, and the fact that he thinks it worth telling even at the expense of sacrificing its deeper significance is worth nothing in itself. Not only does he think it worth retelling, but, as we shall see, continues to adhere faithfully to the line of narrative mapped out by Genesis (and to embroider thereon) even when this same narrative, according to the standards of interpretation set by Jos., becomes seemingly trivial and scarcely worth the effort.

CHAPTER 7: Wanderers Abroad

Beginning at Mesopotamia, the present series of events (*JA* I/309-346) takes us through Gilead, Mahanaim, and thence on into a whole itinerary of small sojournings, all of which constitute a second phase of Genesis' narrative of Jacob's life and works. The third and final phase thereof will form a frame for the figure of Joseph in much the same fashion as Isaac has done for the figure of Jacob himself.

Absent, but not necessarily conspicuous thereby, are: Jacob's deliberate employment of a device to add to his own holdings (*Gen.* 30/37-43), the death and burial of Deborah (*Gen.* 35/8), and Reuben's incest with Bilhah (*Gen.* 35/21-22a). The narrative of the confrontation in Gilead between Laban and Jacob becomes slightly lengthy in Jos.' hands, but the story of Dinah and the vengeance upon the Shechemites is the episode that suffers the most interesting alterations.

After all is said, one is still left wondering about the precise character which Jos. is attributing to Laban and Jacob. In our author's version both Laban and Esau come off extremely well, and this in itself tends to weaken the position of Jacob vis-à-vis his two opponents. In his speech and in his actions Jacob does not quite fit the rather colourless stereotype with which Jos. will later (*JA* II/196) sum up his life: "So he died... having come behind none of his forefathers in piety towards God and having met with the recompense which such virtue deserved." In fact, Jos. presents us in Jacob with a character which he is either unable or unwilling to summarize adequately.

Mesopotamia and Gilead are the consecutive scenes of the account of Jacob's final dealings with Laban, and these will constitute the first section of this chapter. The following two sections will treat of the encounter with Esau and of the rest of Jacob's itinerary respectively.

(a)

According to Genesis, the separation of Jacob from Laban was not an easy or an altogether happy event. Jos. makes it somewhat less drawn out but again takes the opportunity to expand the speeches the two men make to one another when they are eventually brought into confrontation after Jacob's flight.

We are told at once that Jacob tended Laban's flocks for a period of

twenty years. This little detail is drawn from the somewhat later context of Jacob's harangue of Laban (Gen. 31/38 and 41). One cannot take as quite sincere this manifest interest in chronology on the part of our author who has managed to avoid much reference to it so far. The whole time scheme of Jacob's stay in Mesopotamia is not all that clear in any case. Jos. may, however, have known of some attempt to chronicle the period so that the inclusion of this reference at this juncture should not be overlooked.¹

At the close of this period, Jacob wishes to take his wives and depart homeward (Gen. 30/25-26), but Laban refuses. It may be worth noting that the close of the twenty-year period and not the birth of Joseph marks the time when Jacob begins negotiations for his departure.² Laban's reaction is, however, not what is given in Genesis. We shall hear later about the shabby trick played on Jacob by Laban at this time, but Laban's underhand dealings (Gen. 30/27-36) are not mentioned here. Jacob's act of revenge for what was done to him (Gen. 30/37-43) is never mentioned at all. The refusal of Laban is the point to which Jos. carries the reluctance of the former as this is manifest in the sections of Genesis which our author here omits mentioning.

We hear nothing from Jos. about what Jacob overheard the sons of Laban saying (Gen. 31/1), or about his loss of favour with Laban (31/2), or about the divine directive to head homeward (31/3). The very next thing we know is that Jacob plans to depart secretly (cf. the reference to intended secrecy in Gen. 31/20). Jacob is merely said to have tested his wives' feelings concerning migration (Gen. 31/4-13) and they, we are told, were content (Gen. 31/14-16).

This abbreviation of the interchange between Jacob and his wives

¹ What the MT does a bit more than merely suggest is that Jacob's twelve children were born between the beginning of his eighth and the end of his fourteenth year with Laban; the terminus of the period occurs after, and doubtless but shortly after, the birth of Joseph; fourteen years having elapsed (the two periods of service), Jacob begins to treat of his departure (Gen. 30/25). Jacob is, however, persuaded to stay on and it would seem that the chronology supposes that he did so for six years. The trick played on Laban by Jacob (Gen. 30/37-43) is actually a question of continued policy and may be supposed to have occurred within (and even required) the six years tacitly allotted to it. But this cannot be Jos.' view because, as has been seen (p. 192 of this investigation), Jacob is with Laban fourteen years before acquiring his second wife who would not be in a position to give Jacob Bilhah before the end of those fourteen years. For Jos., all but the first four of Jacob's children would have to be born after the fourteenth year.

² To harmonize the date of Genesis, Jacob's flight would have to take place at the end of his twentieth year with Laban. Jos. brings the opening of negotiations with Laban (Gen. 30/25) to a position in time immediately before Jacob's departure. It is therefore logical enough to date the opening of negotiations according to the date of the flight. Thus too the trick played by Jacob on Laban is neatly squeezed out of the chronological scheme of things, and leaving out the reference to Joseph's birth relieves our author of the task of explaining (even though it be explicable) how at least eight pregnancies occurred in the six years his cramped chronology allowed for them (cf. preceding footnote).

manages to avoid again the reference to the divine intervention and the loss of favour with Laban. Laban's over-all ill treatment of Jacob is also by-passed here, but will eventually be brought into the open.³

The departure itself is now described. Rachel, Leah, the handmaids, all the children, and all their possessions escape together, Jacob taking half the cattle without Laban's knowledge. Rachel also took the images of the gods which, Jos. says, the religion of her fathers made it customary to venerate. Jacob, our author continues, had taught her to despise such worship but she took them to have recourse to them in order to obtain pardon should they be pursued and overtaken by her father.

Genesis is expanded in Jos.' detailing of the persons in the party (the former not including specifically the handmaids or his daughter), as well as in his specifying that Jacob took half the cattle. We miss the final topographical detail (Gen. 31/21) respecting the crossing of the Euphrates and the heading toward Gilead, but Jos.' concern over explaining the inclusion of the images in the baggage is one which he shares with others.⁴

A day later (Genesis: "on the third day") Laban discovers (rather than is told of) the escape of Jacob and his daughters. Jos. says that he is indignant at such treatment. He sets out with a band of men and overtakes the fugitives on the seventh day (Gen. 31/23). Our author is evidently accounting for the "hill country of Gilead" by saying that Laban overtook them on a hill where they were encamped. The dream of Laban now follows, Jos. having made the pursuer overtake the pursued before this event occurs.

The first thing that Laban is told by God in the dream is to act gently now that he has overtaken his son-in-law and daughters and to take no rash measures against them in wrath (cf. Gen. 31/24: "Take heed that you say not a word to Jacob, either good or bad."). Laban is furthermore instructed to make a covenant with Jacob and is warned that God Himself would come to Jacob's aid if, in contempt of Jacob's inferiority of numbers, Laban should attack him.

Instead of now overtaking Jacob (Gen. 31/25) Laban summons him to a conference the next morning. During this parley, the one speech of Laban is, in effect, divided into two, and Jacob's two speeches are combined into one.

Jos. has Laban first tell Jacob of the dream (which is but part of the address given in Gen. 31/26-30; in fine, 31/29). Jacob then confidently

³ Cf. JA I/318-321 and p. 200 of this investigation.

⁴ "Yet her purpose was indeed a noble one, for she said: 'What, shall we go and leave this old man Laban in his errors!'" Thus does *Genesis Rabbah* (74/5) justify the question of Rachel's cult-objects. *Pirke deRabbi Eliezer* (Ch. 36) knows of another justification: "On that account had Rachel stolen them, so that they should not tell Laban that Jacob had fled, and not only that, but also to remove idolatrous worship from her father's house". This source is addressing itself initially to the supposed fact that the Teraphim can speak.

approaches Laban. It is then, according to our author, that Laban begins to accuse Jacob.

Laban begins by recalling all he has done for Jacob. He has entertained Jacob and supplied him with abundance of his possessions when he arrived in poverty and utter destitution. Allowed now to break into direct discourse, Laban says he gave his daughter in wedlock to Jacob and hoped thereby to increase his affection "for us."

The tack now changes to accusation of ingratitude. Jacob has disregarded his own mother and the kinship which unites Laban to Jacob, to his wedded wives, and to his children of whom Laban is grandfather.

The charges grow stronger, this time eventually including matter from Genesis. Jacob has dealt with Laban by warfare's laws. He has plundered Laban's property and instigated his daughters to flee from their father (Gen. 31/26). He has made off with the sacred objects of the family which Laban's forefathers venerated and which he has deemed worthy of the same worship (last portion of Gen. 31/30). Such actions would have been practised on a foe, but Jacob has inflicted them on Laban though Jacob be a kinsman, the son of his own sister, husband of his daughters, guest and sharer of his hearth and home.

Amidst this long-windedness, Jos. does in fact have Laban omit some things which Genesis has him say. The regrets shown by Laban in the MT over not being allowed to give Jacob a proper send-off and not being given the opportunity to bid good-bye to his daughters and grandchildren find no place in Jos. Oddly enough, Laban's reference to Jacob's longing to return home (Gen. 31/30), though not put into Laban's mouth by our author, will be a theme upon which he will shortly have Jacob harp.

As already noted, Jacob's speech of reply covers two separated parts of Genesis (31/31-32 and 36-42). The search which Laban makes of the tents, though originally coming between these two declarations, appears in Jos. after Jacob has finished what he has to say. Jos. will himself divide the speech of Jacob into two parts: a defence of himself, and an accusation against Laban. These, however, do not correspond to the two parts of Genesis which Jos. combines to form this unity. The only portion which is retained of the original first speech is the invitation to search for the images, and this is placed at the very end of Jacob's accusations against Laban. The motive for flight expressed in Jacob's fear that Laban would reclaim his daughters (Gen. 31/31) finds no place in Jos. at all.

Jacob begins his self-defence by elaborating a theme taken from the words which Genesis gives to Laban (Gen. 31/30): Jacob's desire to go home. He declares that he was not the only one in whose heart God had placed a love of native country. Such love is innate in all, and even after so long a time it was right that he return to his own. One cannot help wondering whether this special little effort to associate God with the desire to return home is Jos.' way of harking back to the earlier theology

(given in Gen. 31/3, reported more fully in Gen. 31/11-13) which he has omitted mentioning.

Jacob is allowed by Jos. to conduct the rest of his self-defence in direct discourse. As for the charge of spoiling Laban, it is Laban himself who would be found the wrong-doer before any judge. Laban is asked whether it is not unreasonable to be angry at Jacob's taking the small (!) portion that he has, seeing that Laban should be grateful to him for having kept and multiplied the cattle (cf. what Jos. has up to now omitted of Gen. 30/29-30). No malice of Jacob's forced Laban's daughters to flee, but the just affection which wedded wives have for their husbands had led them to do so. In fact, it was not so much Jacob as their own children whom the women followed.

Jos. now says that Jacob, having finished his defence by proving that he had done no wrong, proceeded to complaint and accusation against Laban, and he has him begin this by returning first of all to what must surely be ranked as one of Jos.' favourite themes: the bond of kinship. Thence, Jacob goes on at least to echo the content of Gen. 31/38-41. His argument is that Laban was his mother's brother and also his father-in-law, but nonetheless he has worn Jacob out by imposing grievous tasks and detaining him twenty years; what Jacob was forced to suffer on the pretext of the marriages, notwithstanding its cruelty, was comparatively light, for what followed the marriages was a worse thing and a fate such as might have befallen an enemy.

In pursuing this verbal attack, Jacob now fuses elements from two passages Jos. has omitted: the talk with Laban about departure, and the talk with the wives about the same subject. Jacob now says that Laban has treated him exceedingly ill, for when he saw that God assisted Jacob in whatever he desired (cf. Laban's words to Jacob, Gen. 30/27) Laban promised him from the young of the flock, at one time all that were born white, at another, all born black (cf. the remainder of Jacob's colloquy with Laban, Gen. 30/28-34). When what was coming to Jacob proved numerous (cf. Jacob's words to his wives, Gen. 31/8), Laban broke his word at the moment, promising to deliver the sheep a year later. Laban had acted thus because he did not wish Jacob to become possessed of so much, and he made these promises not expecting that what was promised would prove so numerous. When it turned out so, Laban proved faithless.

This precise twist given to Laban's faithlessness does not appear in Genesis, where Laban simply sequesters the sheep which Jacob desires, no direct indication being given as to why this is done nor any promise being made respecting future delivery. Laban's desire that Jacob not become rich is a conclusion to be drawn from the whole narrative of the relationship between the two men, but is underscored clearly enough in a passage of Genesis of which Jos. omits direct mention: 31/42-43.

Jos. now has Jacob, in concluding his words to Laban, invite him to search for the sacred objects. The search takes place, and it is the direct prologue to the covenant. This is all done much as in Genesis, Rachel professing, according to our author, to be incommoded by the functions natural to women. It is interesting to note Jos.' addition, however. He says that Laban desisted from further search because he never supposed that his daughter would approach the images in that condition.⁵

The making of the covenant between Jacob and Laban is something of a confusion in Genesis, and the same could be said of Jos.' treatment saving that it is abbreviated confusion. It is at least convenient first to sort out the material which Genesis gives and then see what Jos. has or has not done. There are two treaties: a boundary treaty (to be marked by the heap of stones from which Galeed — Aram.: Jegar-sahadutha — takes its name), and a family compact (commemorated by the pillar named Mizpah). It would be possible to pursue this analysis, but it is not to our purposes, for it all appears as a conflated unit in Genesis. This is how Jos. has done *his* sorting. Without any preamble or suggestion by either party that a treaty be undertaken, Jos. simply says that this was now done, Laban swearing to Jacob that he would bear no grudge for the past, Jacob swearing to love Laban's daughters. On some hills (presumably either the hill country of Gilead, Gen. 31/21 and 25, or the mountain where Jacob now sacrifices, Gen. 31/54) they pledged themselves to these promises, erecting a monument in the form of an altar, from which fact "Galadēs" is the name of the hill, and the district thereof is called "Galadēnē". A feast following the oath-taking, Laban withdraws.

The boundary treaty which binds both men in Genesis is turned by Jos. into the obligation upon Laban to forget the past; the family compact which binds Jacob not to mistreat his wives or take others "besides" them, Jos. leaves as it is, but reduces the content of the oath to "love". Only the pillar is brought in by Jos., but he gives it the name given to the heap of stones in Genesis. He may, however, be thinking in terms of the heap of stones when he makes the monument into an altar, though this liturgical element is surely included more under the influence of Gen. 31/54 where Jacob is said to have offered the sacrifice (not however on the pillar *or* the cairn) which Jos. does not otherwise mention. Jos. then abandons Genesis and does not allow Laban to tarry the night nor bid fond farewell to his daughters and grandchildren.

⁵ Jos. obviously has in mind the legislation of Leviticus 11 - 15 in general, 15/19-31 in particular. The effect of uncleanness was disqualification from cultic functions. Displacement of later legislation back into the history of the patriarchs is a very common feature of the *Book of Jubilees*, and the Targumim picture Cain, Abel and Isaac observing the day on which Passover will eventually be celebrated. What is somewhat surprising about Jos.' inclusion of this detail is that he is making (later) Israelite religious law binding in a pagan context.

(b)

Having thus concluded negotiations with the one inimical party, Jacob is about to face another — his brother Esau. Before this episode begins, however, Genesis inserts a small event which Jos. likewise records: the arrival at and naming of “Mahanaim” (Gen. 32/1-2). Genesis says that angels of God met Jacob at this place, and that he responded to this event by saying: “This is God’s *maḥānēh*.” Jos. says that Jacob, pursuing his journey to Canaan, had visions which inspired him with good hopes for the future, calling that spot “God’s camp” (*theou stratopedon*). Calling Genesis’ angels *phantasmata* recalls Jos.’ use of *opseis* when referring to them at the vision of Bethel. Our author is evidently reluctant to be any more specific about the sort of being in question or under what exact circumstances (a simple and real historical confrontation in Genesis) this meeting took place. His interpretation of this event as boding well for the future is curious, but his naming of the place comes directly from Jacob’s words rather than from the Hebrew place-name *maḥānāyim* itself.

This short episode is worked by Jos. into a kind of prelude to what follows. He seems to be saying that even in face of the bright hopes afforded by this vision, Jacob was still uncertain of his brother’s intentions. And so we pass into the narrative of the first embassy to Esau.

Jos. elaborates on Jacob’s motives for dispatching this embassy. As already mentioned, Jacob wishes to know his brother’s intentions, so he sends forward a party to obtain full and accurate information, fearing his brother by reason of their suspicions of old.

The message to be delivered to Esau is, according to the MT, of the simplest: Jacob has until now sojourned with Laban; Jacob is rich in possessions; the embassy has been sent to tell Esau this in order that Jacob may find favour in Esau’s sight. Jos. has Jacob instruct the messengers to tell Esau that, originally, Jacob had departed from the country of his own free will, for he had thought it wrong to live with Esau while the latter’s wrath persisted. Jacob is now returning with wives, children, and all the substance he had procured (Gen. 32/4-5), deeming that the time past was sufficient to reconcile them. Jacob was entrusting himself and all he treasured most into Esau’s hands (cf. the “favour in your sight” of Gen. 32/5), holding it the greatest of blessings to share with his brother what God had given him.

Jos. says that Esau was overjoyed at this message and set out to meet Jacob with four hundred armed men, the joy and the arms being our author’s additions. Such an addition also ornaments Jacob’s subsequent fear, which is said by Jos. to result from the largeness of the accompanying force.

Jacob now commits to God his hopes for salvation (a generalization of the prayer of Gen. 32/9-12) and *then* divides his company (Gen. 32/7-8).

In Genesis, the motive for this division is simply that if one company attracts the destructive attentions of Esau's group, the other can flee. Jos., on the other hand, says that in taking all available precautions to secure himself, save his companions, and master the foe should they wish to cause him injury, Jacob divided his company so that one party might march in advance and the other follow close behind so that if the advance guard were overpowered by an attack from Esau they might fall back on those in the rear.

In Genesis, Jacob's preparations take two distinct forms: the one, of which we have just had an account; the other whereby a large contingent carrying presents for Esau moves in the direction of his approach while Jacob's family and the rest of his possessions are taken to a safe position across the stream of Jabbok. As we have seen, Jos. describes the first preparation as a full-blown military stratagem, which elaborates more than exactly follows the MT. In describing this two-part force, Jos. is undoubtedly thinking of a body of men (*hoi syn autōi*), and he will reconcile the two forms of preparation by indicating that it was this same (two-part) body of men which moved across the Jabbok (presumably with Jacob's family and possessions, but Jos. does not say so) after the presents have been dispatched in the custody of another distinct group. But this is getting slightly ahead of where we are in our narrative which is about to describe the gift-bearing embassy to Esau.

Having so disposed his men (i.e., in the fashion we have seen described and the military character of which "his men" again underscores), Jacob, Jos. tells us, sent a party forward to carry presents to his brother. The convoy contained beasts of burden (Gen. 32/15) and a multitude of quadrupeds of various kinds such as would be treasured for their rarity by anyone receiving them. The emissaries marched at intervals, the reason for which being that the presents would seem more numerous if they arrived continuously. Esau would hopefully be induced by the presents to relax his wrath were he still indignant (Gen. 32/20), and the messengers had instructions to address him affably.

The things Jacob told the messengers to say are interpreted by our author as a gesture of affability. In fact, one of the things they are told to say in Genesis gives the key for understanding why the embassy was dispatched in three waves, but Jos. has given us his own reason already for the staggered succession and it does not seem to be based on the indications given in Genesis.⁶ Our author does not tell us how many intervals there were to the processions.

⁶ In Genesis, each successive group of present-bearing emissaries is instructed by Jacob to identify themselves to Esau and to add: "Moreover your servant Jacob is behind us". Twice, therefore, Esau, expecting to meet Jacob would in fact encounter more presents for himself. This method of wearing away Esau's wrath by a series of pleasant surprises is not what Jos. sees operative in Jacob's maneuver.

Jacob spent the whole day making these arrangements, says Jos., and at nightfall he moved the company forward. They crossed a torrent called Iabakchos and Jacob was left behind. The time indications come from Gen. 32/13 and 21-22, both sets of preparations, as we have noted, being combined by our author. The party sent across the stream is comprised in Genesis of the wives, the maids, the eleven (!) children and everything that Jacob had.⁷ As we have also noted previously, the military preparations are reconciled with all this and it is the company of men (presumably escorting the family and the rest of Jacob's goods) which here crosses the stream and leaves Jacob alone.

The wrestling episode is filled with special interpretations of Jos. and is a singularly interesting version. It is not a "man" as in Genesis, but a *phantasma* that Jacob encounters. The struggle was begun by the *phantasma* and Jacob wrestled with it until it was overcome. There is no indication in Jos. regarding how long this struggle (which clearly lasts until day-break in Genesis) actually took, but the contest itself is made into a clear victory for Jacob on the basis of Gen. 32/25 and 28.

After being overcome, says Jos., the *phantasma*, having found a tongue, addresses Jacob. It is not the conversation which Genesis narrates but is evidently drawn from it. On the basis of Gen. 32/28 ("Your name shall no more be called Jacob, but Israel, for you have striven with God and with men and have prevailed") Jos. has the *phantasma* declare that Jacob is to rejoice in his achievement and not imagine it was a puny adversary he had mastered; he had defeated an angel of God; he is to take the name "Israēlos" (which in Hebrew, Jos. remarks, denotes the opponent of an angel of God). Doubtless as suggested by the act of blessing of Gen. 32/29, the *phantasma* is made to tell Jacob also that he should think this victory an omen of great blessing to come, an assurance that his race would never be extinguished, and that no mortal would surpass him in strength. The final detail of this declaration may well represent Jos.' understanding of the inclusion of men in the above-quoted words from Gen. 32/28.

Jos. says that the *phantasma* gave this revelation at the request of Jacob, for Jacob perceived him to be a messenger (*aggelos*) of God and besought him to declare what destiny was in store for him. All this seems to be referring to Jacob's demand for a blessing (Gen. 32/26) and rather confirms the conjecture given above that what was said regarding Jacob's happy future is in fact Jos.' exegesis of the opponent's act of blessing. Jacob's demand to be blessed our author evidently takes as some indication that Jacob knew his opponent's identity.

⁷ Dinah is consistently overlooked by the MT and is not mentioned in connection with the departure of Jacob from Mesopotamia (Gen. 31/17), the present context (Gen. 32/22), or the small genealogy which occurs later (Gen. 35/22b-26).

In Jos.' version, the *phantasma* now vanishes and Jacob is delighted with the vision — both details of Jos.' own addition. Jacob names the place Phanouēlos, which our author, by-passing Jacob's words on this occasion, says means "the face of God." Because in the contest Jacob suffered injury near the broad sinew (*to neuron to platy*), he abstained from eating that sinew and for his sake, says our author, "we" too are forbidden to eat it.

The injury to Jacob's hip is, of course, taken from the present context of Genesis (32/25 and 31-32), but the rationalization of Jos. that the Israelite observance of abstention therefrom stems from Jacob's observance thereof should be clearly underscored, for the same reasoning seems to lie behind Jos.' convictions regarding the customs of Sabbath and circumcision as well.⁸

Jos.' treatment of the confrontation of Jacob with Esau is relatively brief, for the dialogue is summarized rather than given in detail. It begins with a somewhat typical shift of perspective, Jacob learning that his brother was now at hand rather than lifting up his eyes and seeing him (Gen. 33/1).

Genesis makes the cautious Jacob approach his brother ahead of his family, placing the two maids and their children first, Leah and her offspring next, with Rachel and Joseph taking up the rear. Jos. evidently still has in mind the military preparation for, and the genuine possibility of, an armed conflict on this occasion, for although the two wives *with* their handmaidens are sent forward separately (the children not being mentioned), these according to our author were to view from afar the combatants' actions should Esau desire battle.

The rest is much as Genesis would have it, saving some casual omissions. Jacob prostrated himself before his brother (Gen. 33/3) but Esau approached Jacob with no thought of treachery. Esau embraced his brother (Gen. 33/4) and questioned Jacob concerning the crowd of children and womankind (Gen. 33/5), to which Jacob responded, according to our author, by telling Esau their whole history instead of rendering the brief answer given in Genesis.

Jos. omits the introduction of Jacob's family to Esau, and Esau's return of all the gifts which were sent ahead to render him benevolent (Gen. 33/6-11). We rejoin the original with Esau's offer to conduct them to Isaac (the mention of whom is Jos.' addition), to which Jacob responds by pleading the fatigue of the beasts of burden (which alters the excuse of Genesis that it is the children and the young of the flocks that are to be considered).

By-passing the final offer of Esau and its tactful refusal (Gen. 33/15), Jos. has Esau withdraw to "Saeira" (Gen. 33/16) which, our author tells

⁸ Cf. pp. 46 and 153-154 of this investigation.

us, Esau had named after his own shaggy hair.⁹ Jos. does not bother to harmonize Esau's presence in Seir at this juncture of his version with the removal thither which he will describe later on. In the later context, however, Jos. will yet again derive the designation of Esau's territory (i.e., Idumaea) from yet another aspect of this same man's physiognomy.¹⁰

(c)

The itinerary of Jacob in Genesis now takes him to Succoth, Shechem, Bethel, the burial place of Rachel, the tower of Eder, and finally Hebron. Jos. will omit the fifth of these six by excision of the incident of Reuben's incest with Bilhah.

Not much time is spent at Succoth, Jos. merely remarking that Jacob now arrived at the place which "today" is still called "Shēnai". That Jacob built a house there, and that the name of the place was taken from the booths (*sukkkōt*) Jacob constructed there for his cattle are details which our author chooses to by-pass.

The next stop on the journey is said to be "Sikimos," a city of the Canaanites (Gen. 33/18). Departing again from Genesis, Jos. mentions nothing of the buying of land from Hamor or of the building of an altar (Gen. 33/19-20), but passes immediately to the story of Dinah's experience and the revenge taken over it.

The Shechemites were holding a festival, says Jos., and Dinah, Jacob's only daughter, went into the city to see the finery of the country's women. Dinah's curiosity is confined by Genesis to seeing the daughters of the land. Jos.' festival, however, is at least paralleled in what fragments we have of the work of the poet Theodotus and is a theme which is also not unknown in Rabbinic literature.¹¹

⁹ It has already been seen how Jos. treats the etymology of Esau's name (*JA* I/258; pp. 176-177 of this investigation). In the present context Jos. gives evidence of knowing that the Hebrew root letters related to the idea of hirsuteness are discoverable in the name Seir. His insistence that the place was named from the man, and not vice versa, indicates that he is still determined to see the name "Esau" itself as explicable in the rather inexplicable fashion which he has presented in the context of Esau's birth.

¹⁰ The MT is also indifferent about the harmonization of the present context with Gen. 36/6-8 where it is said that Esau moved off to Seir after the death of Isaac. Jos. may, however, have been conscious of the disharmony for, in the present context, he concentrates on the name Seir, while in the later one he emphasizes Idumaea as the territory over which Esau ruled (while dwelling in "Saeira").

¹¹ A certain THEODOTUS (whom Jos. gives some indication of knowing: *CA* I/216) wrote a hexameter poem on the matter of Genesis 34. According to this poet, Dinah, on the occasion of a festival, went into Shechem to view the city (cf. EUSEBIUS, *Praep. Evan.*, 9/22/4). In the *Book of Jashar* (33/5-6) the festival is also mentioned and Rachel and Leah go to it "to behold the rejoicing of the daughters of the city" and Dinah goes also. *Pirke deRabbi Eliezer* (Ch. 38) accuses Shechem of deliberately causing girls to dance and pipe in the streets in order to lure Dinah to come and watch them, which she did.

In Genesis the name of the city and of the king's son are the same (i.e., Škem), but Jos. distinguishes the two names, calling the first Sikimos, as we have seen, and the latter Sychemmēs.¹² As in Genesis, Dinah is seen by this man, carried off and ravished. He, being enamoured of the girl, then asks his father to procure her for him in marriage.

From this point forward, Jos. begins to alter and shorten the story as it appears in Genesis. Hamor originally addressed both Jacob (Gen. 34/6) and later the sons of Jacob (Gen. 34/8-10), "Sychem" also taking part in the latter interview (Gen. 34/11-12). Our author drops "Sychem" altogether from this part of the episode, and Hamor's interviews are combined into one, Jos. merely saying that Hamor consented and went to Jacob to ask that Dinah be given to "Sychem" in wedlock. Our author adds that in view of the rank of the petitioner Jacob could not refuse, but thinking it unlawful that his daughter marry a foreigner he asked permission to hold a council respecting the request. Hoping Jacob will allow the marriage the king departs.

Now in Genesis, Jacob hears about what has happened (Gen. 34/5) *before* Hamor arrives to talk and, on hearing of it, determines *then* to hold his peace and await the return of his sons. Likewise, the subject of Jacob's interview alone with Hamor is not stated by Genesis and only becomes clear when later the king addresses the sons as well. All this Jos. has combined into Hamor's visit to Jacob, and the king is definitely not present when the sons arrive home.

To fill in for Hamor's words in Genesis, it is Jacob who now tells his sons of their sister's seduction and Hamor's request, asking them to deliberate on what is to be done.¹³ The response of the sons *en bloc* as it is given in Genesis is the guileful demand that the Shechemites be circumcised before the marriage can be allowed. Jos. will omit all reference to circumcision in his version, so that most of the sons on this occasion are said to remain silent, knowing not what to think, while Simeon and Levi, the girl's brothers born of the same mother, agree upon a course of action.

That Simeon and Levi agree on this occasion to undertake their eventual course of action is not the picture of Genesis. Jos., however, is in agreement with the original in both making the outcome of this family meeting a guileful plot against the Shechemites and in keeping the malign

¹² The LXX makes a similar distinction, calling the young man *Sychem* and the Shechemites *Sikimoi* — from the latter of which Jos. takes *Sikimos*, his denomination for the city of the *Sikimoi*. In this context the LXX fails to mention the city at all, reading the MT's "safely" (*šālēm*) as "to Salem" (*eis Salēm*) and making the Hebrew text's "city of Shechem" into "a city of the Shechemites".

¹³ In Genesis 34 Jacob's sons, like Jacob himself, hear of what happened to Dinah from some unspecified source and they receive this intelligence *before* returning home. Jos.' version is somewhat unique in intimating that Jacob first hears of what happened from Hamor and in stating that Jacob's sons heard of it from their father on returning home.

intention hidden from Jacob. The latter detail becomes apparent only later, however, in both Genesis and in Jos.

As already noted, the circumcision of the Shechemites is not part of Jos.' version, so that Gen. 34/13-24 are in effect omitted. It is on the occasion of a feast, says our author, when the Shechemites were given up to indulgence and festivity, that Simeon and Levi, under cover of night, surprised the sentries of the city and slew them in their sleep. The brothers penetrate into the town and kill all the males, including the king and his son, and spare only the women. Jos. adds that they did all this without Jacob's approval. The brothers then bring their sister home.

It would be natural to omit the time indication given in Genesis seeing that this has direct reference to the circumcision of the Shechemites which Jos. has chosen to ignore. As a result, however, we are not told how long after the marriage proposal the slaughter occurred, but only that it was undertaken at a time when a feast had involved the Shechemites in indulgence and festivity and thus, presumably, thrown them off their guard. The night attack (and the overcoming of the sentries) is perhaps merely a bit of voluntary elaboration of the detail in Genesis that the brothers came upon the city unawares.¹⁴ Jos. says nothing of the sacking of Shechem by the other sons of Jacob whereby the women of the town, rightly concluded by Jos. to have been spared by Simeon and Levi, were taken into captivity with all the children and all the goods of the city.

Jos. tells us that Jacob was astonished at the enormity of what his sons had done and furthermore was indignant with them. This does not exactly reproduce the sentiments of Gen. 34/30 where it is a justifiably conceived fear of vendetta which makes Jacob uneasy. The final abrupt retort of the two brothers does not appear in Jos.

It is reasonable that our author should wish to underplay the somewhat brutal treatment of the Shechemites seeing that it was, after all, the offence of only one person the brothers were seeking to avenge. It is odd, however, that he implies but does not underscore that special interest which Simeon and Levi naturally have with respect to the honour of Dinah. Such an interest might go far to palliate the act of vengeance itself and even allow for the necessity of having to kill the others in order to achieve the basic purpose of killing the culprit, feasting presumably as he was amidst his fellows. Admittedly the vengeance motive would not

¹⁴ It is RAPPAPORT's opinion (*Agada und Exegese*... (Frankfurt a. M.: 1930), pp. 21-22) that Jos. alters the situation in which the Shechemites are slaughtered in order to remove the ground given by the MT for a possible accusation of cowardice on the part of Simeon and Levi who would thus be seen (in Jos.' version) as not taking advantage of their victims' period of physical disadvantage. I find it impossible to see how a night attack on a group which was presumably unarmed, distracted by feasting, and likely the worse for drink could be understood as anything less than catching the Shechemites at as serious a disadvantage as that in which the results of their circumcision would have placed them. In other words, Rappaport may have missed the point of Jos.' alterations.

stretch quite as far as deliberate deception of the Shechemites and their reduction to a state of helplessness by means of their acceptance in good faith of what was, or should have been, a sacred ritual experience. The omission of the whole circumcision theme, therefore, at least has the effect of reducing the over-all irreligious brutality of the passage, even granted that Jos. might not have been motivated by such a reason. Vis-à-vis the fact that our author does in fact emphasize Jacob's not being consulted and that he chooses to give at the end of the episode the particular turn to Jacob's words which they possess, it would be necessary to suppose that Simeon and Levi remain unjustified in what they have done. Granted the real possibility that our author could have shaped his narrative to give the opposite impression, it is remarkable that he did not do so.

The abrupt change to a theoloquy at the beginning of Genesis 35 has given our author scope for supposing that at this juncture, during his distress over what his sons have done, God speaks to Jacob. Jacob is bidden to have courage, to purify his tents, and to go and perform those sacrifices which he had vowed after seeing the dream when first on his way to Mesopotamia.

The divine command to purify the tents is incorporated here from an action which Genesis has Jacob perform presumably on his own (Gen. 35/2 and 4) *after* he has received the divine message (which, in Genesis, says nothing of purification), and we shall see in a moment why Jos. may have made this alteration. "And make there an altar" our author evidently wishes to understand as performance of sacrifice, seeing that the stones Jacob "polished" at Bethel were supposedly already there. It is a small detail but yet worth noting that the "arise" (*qûm*) with which the theoloquy begins may be the basis for Jos.' having God begin by encouraging Jacob.

Jos. does not have Jacob relay the divine message to his company (Gen. 35/2-3), so we proceed at once to the purification of the tents. We are told that while purifying the company, Jacob found the gods of Laban which he had been unaware that Rachel had stolen. Jacob then hid these in the ground beneath an oak at Shechem.

Genesis has Jacob himself, as we have noted, institute the purification as though he were in fact conscious of the presence of uncleanness to be removed and were, again on his own, aware of his obligation to remove it. The objects 'confiscated were foreign gods (*ʿēlōhê hannēkār*) and earrings, all of which Jacob buries beneath the oak. Jos., in limiting Jacob's find merely to the *trāpîm* (Gen. 31/19, 34, 35) which are in fact referred to by Genesis as Laban's "gods" (31/30 and 32), evidently wishes to clear up a matter which has been pending solution since Jacob's departure from Mesopotamia. It is better, therefore, that Jacob, who even in Genesis is said to have been ignorant of their presence (Gen. 31/32), undertake the purification on God's command and not on the kind of initiative which

would make it seem as though he knew of their presence already. The idea of purification is contained in Gen. 35/2 (the instruction of Jacob to his company which Jos. omits) and this same context makes no mention of ear-rings, though later (Gen. 35/4) these are said to be among the objects found and buried. Even Genesis, in its own way, admits that Jacob found things he may not have known were there, and this may have given added incentive to our author to treat this episode as he has done, even though he omits mention of the discovery of the ear-rings altogether.

In narrating the visit to Bethel, Jos. is brevity itself. There is no reference to the terror which Jacob inspired along the way (Gen. 35/5), and, on arriving at his destination, Jacob merely offers sacrifice on the spot where he had seen the dream on his way to Mesopotamia. Thus does our author by-pass the death and burial of Deborah (Gen. 35/8) and the second theophany of Bethel (Gen. 35/9-13). Since the spot has already been named and the altar presumed to have been built, reference to both these details is omitted in the present context. That Jacob did in fact offer a sacrifice here, however, is indicated in Gen. 35/14.

The next stage of his journeyings brings Jacob from Bethel, and when, says Jos., he was over against Ephrathēnē (MT: Ephrath) Rachel died in childbirth and she was buried there (Gen. 35/16 and 19), the only one of Jacob's family, our author adds, who was not honoured by burial at Hebron. Jacob is not said to have set up a monument to Rachel's memory (Gen. 35/20), which is a strange omission for Jos., seeing that the MT adds the remark (otherwise a favourite of our author's) that this monument is still in evidence "to this day." Jos. does tell us, however, that Jacob mourned Rachel deeply. The name given to the new-born son by Jacob is Benjamin (Gen. 35/18), the reason according to our author being the suffering the child had caused his mother. This drawing of the etymology of Benjamin from Ben-oni (the name Rachel gave the child before she expired and which Jos. does not mention) is a peculiar bit of carelessness even for our author.

As already mentioned, the next stop (the spot beyond the tower of Eder) is not mentioned by Jos., due doubtless to his omission of the event which Genesis has occur there: the incest of Reuben with Bilhah.

Genesis at this juncture (35/22b-26) gives a list of Jacob's twelve sons arranged in four groups according to the mother that bore them (Leah first, then Rachel, Bilhah and Zilpah). Why Jos. does what we actually find in his version is unclear, for, telling us that he has already given the names of all Jacob's children elsewhere, he nevertheless sees fit to summarize at this point the statistics on Jacob's family. He had, we are told, twelve sons and one daughter (whom, however, Genesis does not mention at all in this context). Keeping more or less the order indicated in the MT, Jos. says that there were eight sons born in wedlock, six to Leah and two to Rachel, while four were had of the handmaidens (two to each).

Finally Jacob arrives at Hebron where Isaac lives. Genesis gives two other synonyms for Hebron which Jos. neglects, telling us rather that it lies in Canaanite territory. Rebekah, who in fact is not an active member of Genesis' cast of characters after chapter 27, is found by Jacob to have died already, according to Jos.¹⁵ Furthermore, Jacob and Isaac do not have the opportunity of living long together because shortly after his son's return, Isaac died as well. He is buried by his children alongside his wife at Hebron in their ancestral tomb. Isaac was a man beloved of God, and he was deemed worthy of God's special providence after his father Abraham (cf. Gen. 25/11 — the point in Genesis where this chapter's material begins). In longevity he surpassed his father, having completed 185 (Genesis: 180) years of a virtuous life when he died.

That Isaac was actually buried at Hebron (Mamre) and that Rebekah was buried there also are details gleaned from a later context of Genesis (49/31). The special blessing of longevity given to Isaac was included among the rewards promised him when he was rescued from being sacrificed by his father, but most likely the promise is itself derived from the present context which indicates that Isaac lived some time more than Abraham.

In closing this chapter and the entire third part of this examination, it would not be a waste of time to pause for reflection on the character of Jacob as presented by Jos. Our author's simplification of the episode where he makes black sheep and white sheep do duty for the more complicated details of Genesis (cf. Jacob's accusations of Laban, based on Gen. 31/8) forms a kind of paradigm for the treatment of individual or collective character employed throughout the version of Genesis in the *Jewish Antiquities*. Cain and Nimrod, the Cainites and Sodomites are categorically black, while most others are treated with care and, quite frequently, with adulation. Jacob is unquestionably a principal figure in both Genesis and Jos., but his character, while not blackened by our author, is far from being idealized. It is not in my opinion unfair to say that Jacob remains, after all, ambiguous in Jos.' representation and thereby constitutes a grand exception to any theory which would have Jos. too liberally glorify and idealize the historical personages appearing in his version of Genesis.

Throughout the rest of the Genesis material to be examined, Jacob remains a stock figure in a drama which focuses on another protagonist altogether. To whatever extent Genesis may intend the events of the Joseph story to be a type of clear and unmistakable comeuppance whereby

¹⁵ The *Book of Jubilees* (35-27) indicates that Rebekah did indeed die before Isaac but (presumably) after the return home of Jacob. *Targum Pseud. Jon.* (at Gen. 35/8) places the death of Rebekah at the same time as the death of Deborah and has Jacob told of his mother's death just after his burial of her nurse. The chronology of the *Targum*, therefore, agrees with that of Jos.

Jacob is both deceived by his sons as he himself deceived his own father and robbed of a possession more precious to him than the birthright was to Esau, Jos. will not appear to approach the narrative in that fashion. What now follows will not allow us to gain any more insight into what in fact Jos. may have thought of the supplanter.

PART IV

Joseph: Genesis 36/1 - 50/26

Introduction

Although Genesis 36 through 50 must needs constitute part, and quite a large part, of our examination of the treatment accorded by Jos. to the Genesis material, it should be noted at once that for our author the matter of these chapters is part of a larger picture which he is composing in the second book of his *Jewish Antiquities*. The last chapters of Genesis form the first and larger half of this second book whose chief theme is the descent of the Israelites into Egypt and their eventual liberation therefrom. Exodus 15 will eventually form the terminus to the events for which Genesis is made to set the scene.

This, however, is not meant to indicate that Jos. has given the Joseph story anything even close to short shrift. On the contrary, he expends more than mere proportionate attention on this phase of his narrative — a point which becomes especially clear when one realizes that of the fifteen chapters of Genesis which form the basis for this part of the *Jewish Antiquities*, one is omitted completely (Genesis 38), another (Genesis 36) is but slightly accounted for, and the whole section comprised of Genesis 48 - 50 is digested into surprisingly small compass. For all this editing, and without the aid of the addition of either citations from the works of others or blocks of novel materials, Jos. manages to make more of Joseph's history than he does of the early (and, in Jos., quite expanded) history of Moses.

That Jos. bore the same name as the central figure of Genesis' final chapters is a fact at least worth noting. That he, like Joseph, cut something of a distinguished figure among powerful foreigners and even at a foreign and splendid court may also have had something to do with Jos.' evident predilection for this portion of his narrative. In any case, these parallels should be kept in mind, even though Jos. never attained (and perhaps never aspired) to a position among the Romans remotely approaching that held by his patriarchal namesake among the Egyptians.

Except for some details respecting the history of Esau mentioned at the very beginning of JA II, Jos. incorporates nothing into this section of his narrative from other parts of Genesis. The basic order of events rests as we find it in Genesis. This Part IV of our examination, however, has been called a tour-de-force of a kind other than that attempted by Jos. in his version of Genesis' Proto-History and I believe this designation justified. That it is a rhetorical tour-de-force will become more than evident in the course of what follows. What Jos. does in this regard he

has already done on a smaller scale heretofore, so that the method of treatment itself will not be new. To what extent the increased use of rhetorical devices changes, betters, or vitiates Genesis is a judgment that can be made only after careful analysis of our author's presentation.

CHAPTER 8: Early Tribulations

The facts and events recorded in Genesis 36 - 41 are taken over by Jos. (JA II/1-94) in a fashion which manages to edit out what is not pertinent to his chief interest which happens, of course, to be Joseph. The bulk of the considerable quantity of material having to do with Edom is simply dropped and, as noted already, the Judah-Tamar episode of Genesis 38 is, for whatever reason, omitted so that the narrative which has Joseph for its chief character flows without interruption once it has begun.

The six dreams and their corresponding interpretation are part of a major theme running through this material and it might be well to say a word on this at the beginning before the welter of analytical detail closes in and it becomes difficult to perceive the way in which Jos. is handling this subject. In accord with what is perhaps a sort of unwritten law on these matters, no one offers an interpretation of his own dream but it is hard to see what set of consistent principles regarding dream-interpretation Jos. is following (if he is following any) by adhering to this convention. Two things are emphasized with respect to Joseph's ability at interpretation, however: Jos. makes him take the trouble to ask his brothers and then Jacob for the meaning of his own dreams; Joseph never volunteers his services for interpreting the dreams of others. The divine origin of interpretable dreams seems also to be a conviction held by our author since he takes the trouble of underscoring it with respect to Joseph's dreams (in connection with which Genesis does not mention it) and, while omitting Joseph's remark to the cup-bearer (Gen. 40/8) whereby God is made to have a part in the dreams of the prisoners, introduces an element into Joseph's interpretation of the cup-bearer's dream indicating that one of the symbols therein is made by God to function as the kind of symbol Joseph interprets it to be. God's part in Pharaoh's dreams is a feature given by both Genesis and Jos., the latter somewhat emphasizing it by placing his mention of it at the very end of Joseph's interpretation.

The five sections of this chapter follow the material of Genesis as it is apportioned in the five chapters: Genesis 36 - 37 and 39 - 41.

(a)

This small section has as its principal theme a general encomium of Jacob's prosperity which is built about Gen. 37/1-2Aa and which will introduce the story of Joseph. To set off what he says about Jacob, however, Jos. begins with a small account of Esau somewhat in contrast with whom Jacob will then be re-introduced to us.

What Jos. has to say about Esau is drawn from both Genesis 36 and 25. We begin with Esau's migration away from Jacob (Gen. 36/6-8).

After Isaac's death, says Jos., his sons divided the territory between them, thus not retaining all they inherited, and Esau, leaving the city of Hebron to his brother, took up his abode in "Saeira."

The separation of Jacob and Esau as described in Genesis is a bit reminiscent of the parting of Abraham and Lot: because of the multitude of the possessions and dependents of two groups, one territory cannot support both and this causes a migration. Jos. pictures this episode as a division of inherited territory which is by no means the impression given by Genesis. That Jacob continued to live in Hebron is a detail which could only be based on Gen. 37/14 (where Joseph is dispatched from Hebron to visit his brothers in Shechem). Jos. has already mentioned "Saeira" as the abode of Esau, but does not take the trouble to reconcile the present passage with the previous context.¹

Esau, we are told by our author, ruled over Idumaea, calling the country after himself, for he bore the surname "Adōmos" which he obtained from the following circumstances (based on Gen. 25/29-34). When still a lad, Esau came in one day hungry and tired from hunting and found Jacob preparing a dish of lentils for his own midday meal. These lentils made Esau even hungrier and he asked for them to eat, whereupon Jacob took advantage of Esau's hunger and required the rights of the firstborn son in exchange for the food. Esau, forced by hunger, surrendered these rights under oath. The ruddy colour of the pottage gave occasion to Esau's youthful comrades to call him "Adōmos" in jest (for *adōma* is the Hebrew for "red"), and this is how Esau came to call the country by its name, though the more dignified name of "Idumaea" is owed to the Greeks.

The form in which this episode is retold by our author is much the same as we have it in Genesis. That the incidents occurred when Esau was a lad places it in the context in which it actually occurs in the MT, and the mention of the return from the chase is a proper interpretation of Gen. 25/29, especially in the light of the association of "field" with hunting in Gen. 25/27. That we are informed at once that it was a dish of lentils which Jacob was preparing instead of being told this only later

¹ Cf. pp. 205-206 of this investigation and especially footnote 10 to that context.

(as in the MT, Gen. 25/34) is a feature which Jos. has in common with the *Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan* and *Targum Neofiti*,² and it would seem that our author was thinking in Aramaic terms when giving the Greek word *adōma* as the supposed transcription of the word the "Hebrews" use in speaking of "the red" (*to erythron*).³ Where Esau's youthful companions come from is difficult to say, for Genesis gives no indication that there was anyone else present during this episode other than Jacob. It is possible, however, that the midday meal (*ariston*) which Jacob was preparing was suggested by the occurrence of *lehem* which appears in Gen. 25/34 as being served to Esau with the lentils and which Jos. otherwise omits to mention. This Hebrew word in fact is twice translated by the LXX as *ariston*.⁴

For the genealogy stemming from Esau which he now gives, Jos. had a variety of materials to draw from in Genesis 36, but seems to have settled more or less on what we find in Gen. 36/9-14, all of which, however, he does not make use of. The five offspring of Esau are mentioned first, together with their respective mothers, the order being: the three sons of "Alibamē", the one son of "Adasē", and the one son of "Basamatē". This precise order of names does not appear in Genesis 36 but, assuming that "Alibamē" has replaced the MT's Judith (Gen. 26/34) as Jos. has already made her do, Jos. is here following the actual order in which Esau was supposed to have taken these women to wife.⁵

Of the various grandchildren of Esau, Jos. opts to mention only those springing from the son of "Adasē", "Aliphazēs" (MT: Eliphaz). The five legitimate ones are mentioned in the order in which they are found in Gen. 36/11. The illegitimate "Amalēkos", son of the concubine "Thamnaē", concludes the genealogy.

Our author adds the following topographical note. The people he has just mentioned occupied the region of Idumaea termed *Gobolitis* and that called, after Amalek, *Amalēkitis*; for Idumaea, formerly extensive, has kept that name for the whole country and in its several provinces preserved the names that were derived from their founders.

² So *Targum Pseud. Jon.* (at Gen. 25/29): "On the day that Abraham died, Jacob dressed pottage of lentils and was going to comfort his father." *Targum Neofiti* is slightly simpler: "And Jacob had cooked a dish of lentils and Esau came from the open fields and was weary."

³ In the Hebrew (Gen. 25/30) Esau is made to ask to be fed from *hā'adōm hā'adōm hazzeh* — which would perhaps best go into idiomatic English as "some of that, that red stuff there". Basing itself on this quote, the MT goes on to say that this is why Esau was called 'ēdōm. One of the Aramaic words for "red" is indeed 'adōm but it is not the word which is used in this particular context by any of the Targumim which all happen to prefer *smwq*°. Hence, though Jos. may be thinking of an Aramaic word and form, he did not get it from this context as mediated by any surviving Targumic tradition.

⁴ More accurately, *ariston* translates *lehem* in III K 4/22 while *mellei aristan* stands for *yō'klā lehem* at Gen. 43/25.

⁵ Cf. p. 180 of this investigation.

Jos. himself in other contexts either links Gobolitis with the Amalekites (*JA* III/40) or the "Gabalites" to the Amalekites and Idumaeans (IX/188). The same association is found in the Book of Psalms.⁶ But in the present context Jos. seems to be saying that Gobolitis is one of those provinces of Idumaea which, like Amalkitis, retained the name of its founder. But who is the founder? Jos. has not given us a name in his genealogy of Esau which could be a possible candidate. And here, oddly enough, we seem to be led back again to the Targums in which Gabla is used for Seir the place and Seir the (Horite) chieftain (Gen. 36/20);⁷ the latter, however, does not actually appear in Jos.

The matter which we have just reviewed constitutes Jos.' farewell to Esau, for we now turn to Jacob and the account of *his* history subsequent to the death of Isaac. This history is, in fact, the Joseph story. The prologue to this history is placed here and just following the brief and jejune account of Esau's later life seemingly in order to contrast the two brothers without however saying anything specific to blacken Esau even the sale of whose birthright has been treated gently by Jos. and more in order to account for the etymology of Idumaea. Our author says nothing about Esau *despising* his birthright (Gen. 25/34).

Jos. now tells us that Jacob, on the other hand, happened to reach a degree of prosperity hardly achieved by any man. He surpassed the inhabitants of the country (presumably the Canaanites) in riches.

With this much said for Jacob himself, we move on to his children. The virtues of these, says Jos. made Jacob an object of envy and admiration for there was no quality which they lacked. They were courageous in manual labour and endurance of toil, but they were also quick of understanding.

One would be tempted to pause and probe this evaluation if it were not for two things: the overtly exaggerated character of the generalization about the lack of no (presumably virtuous) quality in the light of the fact that Jos. goes on to specify only two which they in fact possessed; the fact that Jos. has applied much the same two qualities to the offspring of Keturah.⁸

Jos. is now ready to begin his story of Joseph and so he tells us that the Deity showed such providential care for the father of these sons and for his welfare that even seemingly deplorable events proved the source of utmost felicity, and brought about the departure of "our" ancestors from Egypt by means of Jacob and his offspring. The circumstances of this departure, says our author, he will now proceed to relate.

⁶ So Ps. 83/5-7: "Yea, they conspire with one accord; against thee they make a covenant — the tents of Edom and the Ishmaelites, Moab and the Hagrites, Gebal and Ammon and Amalek, Philistia with the inhabitants of Tyre..."

⁷ So both *Targum Neofiti* and *Targum Pseud. Jon.*

⁸ Cf. p. 163 of this investigation.

(b)

The principal occurrence of this episode is the selling of Joseph to the Ishmaelites. As in Genesis this is preceded by the account of Joseph's dreams and followed by the brothers' false report to their father. The central episode itself, however, is much expanded by the attention Jos. gives to the two speeches of Reuben delivered on the occasion.

The somewhat muddled pastiche of initial details whereby we are introduced to Joseph by Genesis (37/2Ab-4) Jos. puts in order by dwelling at once and solely upon Jacob's affection for Rachel's son Joseph and the brothers' consequent enmity for the favoured youngster. This affection, says our author, was called forth by Joseph's beauty of person, which he owed to his birth, and by his virtuous qualities of soul, for he was endowed with exceptional understanding.⁹

Joseph's age at this time will be given later, and his coat will be a feature of the false report brought to Jacob, though Jos. says nothing about the origin of this coat, its characteristics, or its being a sign of predilection. Joseph's accompaniment of his brothers while they tended their flocks is another detail which, as shall shortly be seen, is used differently by Jos.¹⁰ He passes over entirely, however, the ill report which Joseph brought home regarding his brothers (Gen. 37/2B), as well as the fact that they could not speak peaceably to him (Gen. 37/4). These omissions are not without significance, as we shall see.

Jos. leads into the account of Joseph's dreams directly from his remarks about Jacob's favouritism by saying that this was not the only

⁹ In Gen. 37/3 we read that Jacob loved Joseph more than all his children because "he was the son of his old age" (*ben-zqunîm hû' lô*). The operative phrase in Hebrew contains no possessive pronoun and could thus literally be translated: "he was a 'ben-zqunîm' to him". Traditional exegesis has seen in *ben-zqunîm* a reference to wisdom and this is the tradition Jos. seems to be following when he remarks on Joseph's exceptional understanding as being the cause of Jacob's love. *Pirke deRabbi Eliezer* (Ch. 38) asks why Joseph is called "son of old age" since such a title should be Benjamin's, and answers that the title refers to the future when, in Jacob's old age, Joseph will be the saviour of the family. But *Targum Onkelos* (at Gen. 37/3) interprets the phrase as referring to Joseph's wisdom, and *Kiddushin* (32b) indicates that the Rabbis treated the adjective *zâqên* as an abbreviation of *zeh qanâ hokmâ* (this one has acquired wisdom). *Genesis Rabbah* (84/8) says that the phrase means that Jacob transmitted to Joseph all the laws which Shem and Eber had handed down to Jacob. This same source also echoes the detail given by Jos. that Joseph's appearance had something to do with the father's affection. PHILO (*De Josepho*, 4) would have it that Jacob observed in Joseph a *phronêma eugenes kai meizon ē kat' idiôtēn*.

¹⁰ Cf. the following paragraph. Joseph accompanies his brothers to the harvest (on which occasion he has his first dream), not to tend the flocks. The latter detail is connected in Genesis with Joseph's tattling. In addition, there were exegetical traditions (of which Jos. was perhaps aware) which made of Joseph's pastoral period something a bit unsavoury. We shall see that Jos. bends over backwards to give Joseph a good image from the very beginning, so that the avoidance of the tale-bearing theme of the original would certainly have been sufficient reason for Jos. to effect the change we find in his treatment of Joseph's labours with his brothers.

cause of the brothers' hatred of Joseph, for Joseph had dreams, predictive of good, which he saw and related to his father and brothers and these also caused his brothers to hate him, so jealous, concludes our author, are men of the successes even of their nearest relatives. In recounting the dreams, Jos. will suppose, from the content of the first dream, that both dreams occurred in harvest time and that Joseph (cf. Gen. 37/2Ab) was helping his brothers with the work. It is also stated before the dreams are recounted that both are told by Joseph to the brothers and to Jacob, though in Genesis this is indicated only of the second, and Jos. himself will seem to indicate that Jacob knew nothing of the first.

While employed in the harvest, we are told, Joseph had a vision very different from the dreams that ordinarily visit us in sleep and when he awoke told it to his brothers and asked them what it meant. The content of the dream is the same as in Genesis, Jos. adding that the other sheaves bowed to Joseph's like slaves before their masters. This added detail is likely taken from the response Genesis puts into the mouth of the brothers but which Jos. transmutes into this particular addition and into the fact that the brothers *understood* that the vision predicted power and majesty for Joseph and his destined supremacy over themselves. But this, says our author, they did not communicate to Joseph, acting as though the dreams were unintelligible to them, but uttering imprecations (*arai*) that nothing of what they augured might ever come to pass. As in Genesis, the result of all this is that the brothers hate Joseph all the more, Jos. omitting "for his dreams and for his words," perhaps because Joseph's possible boasting is not an element our author wishes to incorporate into his version.

The Deity (*to theion*), says Jos., now counteracted the brothers' jealousy and sent Joseph a second vision more marvellous than the first. Its content is the same as that given in Genesis, but Jos. replaces "eleven stars" with "the other stars," thus implying that Joseph himself is a star and leaving the way open for Jacob's later interpretation that the group of stars doing reverence numbers eleven. On this occasion Jos., as does Genesis, makes Jacob unquestionably present, but Joseph is all innocence and, having no idea of his brothers' malice, asks Jacob for an interpretation of the dream. Our author is seemingly determined to prevent us from thinking that Joseph is relating these dreams to provoke his brothers (whose hatred, if it were all that manifest and open as it is in Genesis, Joseph could hardly be unaware of) or to indulge in idle boasting.

Far from rebuking Joseph (cf. Gen. 37/10), Jacob is delighted with the dream. Grasping in his mind, says Jos., what it predicted and sagely and unerringly divining its import, he rejoiced at the great things which it betokened and which promised prosperity to his son.¹¹

¹¹ It has already been pointed out (cf. footnote 9 of this chapter) how *Pirke deRabbi*

Jacob's more detailed interpretation of the dream now follows. He rejoices over these great things which promised that a time would come when Joseph would be honoured and held worthy of veneration by his parents and his brothers: the moon and the sun Jacob conjectured to mean mother and father, the one giving increase and nourishment to all things, the other moulding their form and implanting in them their stores of strength; the stars were his brethren who, like them, were eleven in number and borrowed, like them, their strength from sun and moon. Thus, says Jos., did Jacob shrewdly interpret the vision.

It is surely clear from Genesis just how Jacob interprets the symbolism of the second dream, and the remark (set in contrast to the brothers' reaction) that Jacob "kept the saying in mind" (Gen. 37/11b: "*šāmar 'et-haddābār*") may very well be the foundation for the twist which Jos. gives to the father's own reaction even in face of the fact that Genesis has Jacob rebuke Joseph. Jos.' presentation is nonetheless curious for several reasons. Although Jos. is not too clear on the point, it seems to be assumed that Jacob is declaring his interpretation orally. There is no attempt made to suppress or explain the presence of a symbol for Joseph's mother (now supposedly dead) in the dream; in fact, something said later by Reuben would give the impression that she is still living.¹² Finally, the way Jacob is allowed to infer the number eleven, joined as this inference is with the detailed reasoning behind the interpretation of the two other symbols, places an emphasis on Jacob's facility at dream-interpreting which is not found in Genesis.

The reaction of the brothers concludes this initial stage of the proceedings. Jos. says that they were very aggrieved by these predictions, bearing themselves as though it were some stranger who was to receive the benefits which the dreams indicated and not a brother whose fortunes it was only natural that they should share, becoming his partners, as in parentage, so likewise in prosperity. They were eager, continues our author, to slay the lad, and, having determined upon this scheme, they departed, now that their harvest labours were ended, to Shechem which is a district excellent for the feeding of cattle and for its crop of pasturage. The brothers proceeded thither to tend their flocks having given their father no warning of their departure in the direction Jos. has indicated.

That the brothers decided at this juncture to kill Joseph may be an

Eliezer (Ch. 38) interprets Joseph's title of *ben-zqunim*. In the same context where it speaks of that matter, this source has Jacob foresee by his prophetic power that Joseph would indeed be a future ruler. *Genesis Rabbah* (84/12) indicates two things: that Jacob wrote down the time and place of the dream (it being thus implied that he knew its prophetic character); that God revealed to Jacob at this time that the dream was indeed a prophecy. In Philo's *De Josepho* (8), Jacob merely suspects that there might be a prophetic side to what Joseph has told him.

¹² Cf. p. 225 of this investigation. *Genesis Rabbah* (84/11) interprets the female symbol of the second dream to mean Bilhah "who had brought him [Joseph] up like a mother".

interpretation of the MT's simple: "And his brothers were jealous of him." Jacob's ignorance of the destination of his sons' pastoral excursion, however, could easily be based upon Jacob's opining question put to Joseph: "Are not your brothers pasturing the flock at Shechem?" This, coupled with the fact that Joseph does not actually find them at Shechem, could possibly lead to the kind of twist Jos. has given this passage. Neither Jacob's question nor Joseph's inability to find his brothers at Shechem is, in fact, otherwise mentioned by Jos.

Before going on to the next stage of the narrative, it might be well to pause for a moment's reflection on the general character of this entire passage which concerns the dreams and which also constitutes the actual introduction to the Joseph story. Despite the fact that Jos. is trying just a bit too hard to shape his narrative, and that details succeed in proliferating a little too quickly, we have from his hands an ordered picture of a given series of events taking place at a given time with a clearly and briefly described domestic tension for background. All this is a genuine improvement on the rather patchwork character manifested by the text of Genesis. Jos. certainly wants Joseph to appear the wholly innocent victim of human weakness in others and hence anything of the original which might suggest either deliberately or through want of sufficient clarity that there was anything about Joseph which could have constituted for others a reasonable cause for irritation is altered. The dreams, in one way or another, are made to appear definitely as of divine origin and, perhaps for this reason, are also made to appear more riddling and enigmatic than in fact their latent symbolism justifies. The scene is well set, but Jos. has more going on in it than he wants to, or can, adequately describe.

We now come to the principal theme of this section: the selling of Joseph to traders on their way to Egypt. This for the most part follows Genesis in its general development, Jos. omitting only the removal of the brothers from Shechem to Dothan. There are, however, several expansions.

Jacob, says Jos., conceived most dire forebodings about his sons because he was ignorant of their movements and no one had come from the flocks to give him information. Full of anxiety, Jacob sent Joseph to learn what had befallen his brothers and to bring back word of their doings.¹³ As we have seen, Jacob's ignorance of the whereabouts of his sons is likely to have been drawn from a verse which Genesis actually gives in this context (37/13) and the fact that Jos. once again signals this same ignorance at this juncture may be a good indication that this is

¹³ The motive for Jacob's fears respecting his sons is spelled out clearly in *Targum Pseud. Jon.* (at Gen. 37/13): "But I am afraid lest the Hivae come and smite them, because they smote Hamor and Shechem and the inhabitants of the city." Notice of this same fear of the Shechemites on the part of Jacob is contained in the *Book of Jashar* (41/19).

where he derived his idea in the first place. Consistent with his own interpretation, however, Jos. has Jacob omit mention of Shechem altogether.

As already noted, the removal of the brothers from Shechem to Dothan is by-passed by our author, so that what now takes place presumably happens at Shechem. Since he omits the fact that the brothers see Joseph approaching from a distance, Jos. leaves it unclear whether the discussion of whether or not to kill their brother took place among the sons of Jacob before or after Joseph's arrival in their midst. The later context which in Genesis (37/23) actually marks the arrival is omitted by our author as well. I think, however, that Jos. does wish us to suppose that Joseph is present during the following discussion.

Seeing that Joseph had come to them, says Jos., the brothers were delighted, not because Joseph was their relative and their father's envoy but rather because their enemy had by God's will been delivered into their hands. They were eager to kill him at once and not miss the opportunity thus afforded, but Reuben, the eldest, saw the intentions of the others and tried to restrain them.

Jos. has little trouble in telling us that Reuben saw the intentions of the others because these are clearly declared in Genesis, though our author does not specifically have the brothers do so. More interesting is the change of heart which we must assume Reuben to have undergone if he, as we must suppose, is to be thought of as being among the group that had decided upon Joseph's death even before leaving home. The plot to kill Joseph is, in Genesis, initiated in this present context and Reuben quite clearly not only does not want to kill Joseph outright but actually wishes to save him and restore him to his father. By having introduced into his narrative the taking of the earlier decision to commit fratricide, Jos. indirectly raises the two questions: was Reuben present when the first decision was taken? if so, did he repent in the meantime?

In Genesis, Reuben makes two consecutive declarations (Gen. 37/21 and 22). Around each of these Jos. builds a full-scale address.

Developed as it is but from one simple exhortation ("Let us not take his life"), Reuben's first speech is quite a little feat of rhetoric, and, more than some other productions of Jos. along this line, deserves some attention. There are seven consecutive themes stated, most of which are embroidered upon, and, excepting one exceedingly small portion, are all delivered in indirect discourse. Reuben is made to make the following points to his brothers, representing to them, says Jos., the enormity and abominable nature of the proposed crime.

(i) Fratricide: the murder of a non-relative is a sin before God, a sacrilege (*anosion*) in the eyes of men; far fouler is fratricide which brings injury so grievous to a father and plunges a mother into mourning over the unnatural deprivation of her son.¹⁴

¹⁴ Cf. p. 223 of this investigation. The *Book of Jubilees* (34/15) has Bilhah perish

(ii) Piety: have consideration for the parents and allow reflection on the suffering they will derive from deprivation of so virtuous and young a son to cause desistence from the outrageous act.

(iii) God: the witness to this plot is God who is to be feared; the renunciation of the proposed deed, penitence and sober reflection will even now ward off His wrath, but the accomplished act will bring down the full range of divine fury, for the crime would be a profanation of Providence which is everywhere at hand, from which nothing is hid, and which is to be deemed present wherever men are found.

(iv) Conscience: standing opposed to the deed is personal conscience from which no one can fly, be it pure or guilty.

(v) Joseph's innocence: even one who has caused his brother injury it would be impious to slay; gracious, rather, would it be to bear no malice for their seeming errors against persons so dear; but Joseph has not only done them no injury but is one "whose tender age should rather elicit all our compassion and care.

(vi) Abhorrent motive: the deed is made even worse than it would ordinarily be by the motive which is prompting it; this is envy of Joseph's future fortune which, after all, his brothers will share, for they are not strangers to him but relatives and whatever God gives to Joseph will belong to his brothers also.

(vii) Divine predilection: God's wrath will be even more increased by the killing of Joseph which would deprive and rob God of the one He had judged worthy to receive these blessings.

With all these, and even more, appeals and entreaties Reuben tried, says our author, to deter his brothers from fratricide.

The general sentiment is certainly built upon the advice given by Reuben in Genesis not to kill Joseph, but the whole development of Reuben's address has more the appearance of a homily on the words Genesis later gives *Judah*: "What profit is it if we slay our brother and conceal his blood?" (Gen. 37/26). It is Judah's expressed attitude, and not Reuben's, which could give ground for supposing that the brothers did indeed value or fear something in the light of which even a secret crime would profit them nothing.

In Genesis, the only thing that separates Reuben's first short exhortation (37/21) and his next piece of advice (37/22) are the words: "And Reuben said to them ..." Jos. evidently takes it that this indicates a change in tack on Reuben's part, the initial attempt at persuasion having failed and the other brothers still being intent on murder. Contrary to Genesis, Jos. at no time in the present context gives us an indication that the

on hearing of the supposed death of Joseph. Thus Bilhah is associated in exegetical tradition with the two themes in connection with which Jos. has allowed himself to refer to Joseph's mother as though she were yet living, so it may be Bilhah of whom our author was thinking in this and the previous context.

advice Reuben is about to give is actually in function of a plan of his to save Joseph later. Reuben now, says Jos., counsels mitigation of iniquity through choice of a different way of killing Joseph. It were better, Reuben is made to continue, to follow his first advice, but if their determination to kill Joseph cannot be changed their wickedness would be less heinous if this his second counsel be followed. The deed will be accomplished but in a different and, among possible evils, a less aggravated form. Their hands are not to be raised against a brother (cf. Judah's words, Gen. 37/27), but Joseph should be cast into a nearby pit and be left to die (Gen. 37/22). It will at least be some profit not to have soiled their hands with a brother's blood (cf. especially Judah in Gen. 37/26 but also Reuben's mention of blood in 37/22). The others consent and Reuben ties Joseph with a rope and gently lowers him into a virtually dry pit.¹⁵

Once again, the sense and tone of Judah's words appear in what Reuben is saying. When we eventually come to what Judah has to say according to our author's version, it will appear that Judah's advice is made to go a bit further than it does in Genesis where what Judah says is indeed more on the level of what Reuben is now proposing, i.e., a mere alternative to the actual shedding of blood. Jos. has the treatment of Joseph seem far more gentle than does the original. It might be well also to recall too that Joseph's arrival at the point just before he is put into the pit is omitted by Jos., giving indeed the impression that Joseph has heard what has been said. The brothers' actual agreement with Reuben in this context is modelled after their later reaction to the words of Judah.

Reuben is now said to depart in search of suitable pasturage. His absence is rather presumed by Genesis than stated in so many words, for it is only by inference from later events that it becomes clear that he was absent during Joseph's sale. Jos. makes a point of Reuben's departure, however, and the MT itself may perhaps provide the answer regarding the origin of this detail. The operative verb used several times in this portion of Genesis with regard to Reuben is *yāšāb* (i.e., "he returned"). The line following the description of the placing of Joseph in the pit begins: "And they sat down to eat bread ...", the verb being *yēšbū*. It is not impossible to read the MT's consonantal text in a way which places the final *waw* of *yēšbū* at the beginning of the next word, with the result: "*wayyāšāb wlō kol leḥem*" ("And he withdrew, as (there was) no food").¹⁶

¹⁵ Respecting the appearance of "virtually" in this reference to the pit H. St.J. THACKERAY (*Josephus with an English Translation* (9 vols.; London-Cambridge, Mass.: 1930), IV, 181) remarks: "The adverb *hikanos* (sufficiently) in Jos. may be due to misreading of *kenos* (empty) found in some mss. of the LXX".

¹⁶ Many sources make reference to this departure of Reuben's, but none seem to give the reason for it which is given by Jos. *Targum Pseud. Jon.* (at Gen. 37/29) says that Reuben was off doing penance for having defiled his father's couch, and

For whatever reason, in beginning the actual account of the sale, Jos. takes the trouble to inform us that it was Judah, another of the sons of Jacob, who (alone) saw the traders. These, according to our author, were Arabs of Ishmaelite race who were conveying spices and Syrian merchandise from Galadēnē (MT: Gilead) for the Egyptian market. The Syrian merchandise is likely to have been derived from the MT's *ṣrî* (balm) which Jos. does not otherwise mention. Our author also does not bother to mention or reconcile the presence of Midianites in this context.

Making sure to mention that this is going on after Reuben's departure Jos. now makes Judah advise his brothers to draw Joseph up from the pit and sell him to the merchants. Banished into remote exile Joseph would die among strangers and so free the brothers from the guilt of his blood. All agree, and Joseph is drawn up and sold for twenty minas, he at the time being seventeen years of age.

As already noted, most of Judah's words at this juncture have been incorporated into what Reuben has been made to say (at some length), so that Jos., in order to make this other son of Jacob say at least something, draws from Gen. 37/28 (the actual drawing of Jos. from the pit, the advice to do so is never given in Genesis). To this is added the declaration of Judah's happy insight that this expedient will free them from all blood guilt by removing the venue of Joseph's death from their midst altogether. Jos. is clearly representing Judah as proposing a third and best choice — an event which Jos. seems to have been sensitive enough to know would not be sufficiently supported by the exact representation of what the MT says but which he was willing enough to include as an interpretation of the original in order to make Judah a part, and doubtless the best part, of these sordid proceedings. It is difficult to say whether Jos. sees any relation between Joseph's price and his age, the latter detail being transferred to this context from where it appears in Genesis (37/2Ab).¹⁷

Reuben's return and reaction are much the same in Jos. as in Genesis, with the slight alteration made by our author that Reuben returns by night to the pit, having resolved (in the meantime?) to rescue Joseph without his brothers' knowledge. He calls to Joseph, but receiving no answer and fearing the others had killed him during his own absence, heaped abuse on his brothers. The others told Reuben what had been done and he ceased to lament.

this is also one of the reasons given by *Genesis Rabbah* (84/19). This latter source would also have it that Reuben was away attending to the affairs of the household, all of which were committed to him. *Pirke deRabbi Eliezer* (Ch. 38) merely has him go off to the mountains to await his chance to come back *by night* and save Joseph. The nocturnal element is (as will be seen) a point made by Jos. also.

¹⁷ In the MT, Joseph is sold for twenty shekels, in the LXX for twenty pieces of gold, and in Jos for twenty minas. The last two greatly magnify the sum given in the Hebrew. The MT's price is that of a male slave between the ages of five and twenty (cf. Leviticus 27/5).

The fact that Reuben is intending to save Joseph without his brothers' knowledge may account for the detail that this event takes place at night, and the fact that it is night accounts for Reuben's calling out (rather than looking into the pit, as is at least the more natural interpretation of the MT). That Reuben was quite distressed is an obvious fact in Genesis, but that he heaped abuse on his brothers is not. Jos. does not in fact mention specifically that Reuben returned to his brothers after he found out that Joseph was not in the pit, and perhaps this indicates an understanding of the verb *wayyāšāb* which would provide Jos. with a basis in the original for what he says Reuben does. The brothers' explanation of what they have done and the seeming comfort this gives to Reuben are interesting if somewhat inexplicable additions to the episode.¹⁸

We now enter the third and final stage of this lengthy section: the deception of Jacob over Joseph's disappearance. Jos. has the brothers do what is done in Genesis, adding but a few flourishes. According to our author, the brothers contrive to elude Jacob's suspicions by taking the tunic Joseph was wearing on arrival and then stripped of when they lowered him into the pit (cf. Gen. 37/23), tearing it (not in Genesis), and rousing it with goat's blood (Gen. 37/31) in order to create the impression that Joseph had been destroyed by wild beasts. The inclusion of wild beasts into what was to be told to Jacob is an element which occurs as early as the brothers' intention to kill Joseph as expressed in Gen. 37/20, and that Jacob actually drew this conclusion is said in Gen. 37/33. Jos. now makes the intention to create this impression deliberate on the part of the culprits and has them expedite it by actually tearing the garment. Jos. interjects a curious note with the mention of the robe, however. Picturing the brothers as casting about for some ruse with which to subdue Joseph by renewed assault. Thence, we pass immediately to robe, calling it a *chitōniskos* and, seemingly quite deliberately, making it function only as an element within the plot to deceive Jacob. It is not mentioned at all until this juncture and its importance as we shall see will lie only in the fact that since Joseph was wearing it upon his arrival it would be the garment which Jacob would recognize as the one Joseph was wearing when he left home. This underplaying of the entire theme

¹⁸ The point about *wayyāšāb* is that its consonantal cluster can be pointed as *qal* or as *hiph'el*. If as *qal* (the form of the MT), it could be interpreted as a reconciliation (at which Jos. at least hints); if as *hiph'el*, it could have the absolute meaning (II Sam. 22/21) of "recompense" though the use of the preposition ²*el*- (instead of *l*-) after the verb would certainly discourage such an interpretation. I believe however that *Pirke deRabbi Eliezer* (Ch. 38) incorporates the exegetical tradition which Jos. follows on several scores and so it would be best to quote the passage in full: "And Reuben went down by night to bring up Joseph out of the pit, but he did not find him there. He said to them: 'Ye have slain Joseph; and I, whither shall I go?' And they told him what they had done and the ban which they had proclaimed; and Reuben heard of the ban and was silent." The ban in question was the pact into which the brothers entered before Reuben's return and it had to do with keeping what they had done a secret from Jacob.

of the coat of Joseph may be more explicable after examining the rest of Jos.' version of Genesis 37.

Jacob, says Jos., had already heard of what happened to his son (*ta peri ton huion*) when his sons came to him, telling their father that they had not seen Joseph and that they had not discovered what accident had befallen him.¹⁹ Informing Jacob that they had found the tunic, mangled and bloodstained, they said that they had concluded from its condition that Joseph had encountered wild beasts and perished, if indeed the tunic was the one Joseph was wearing when he left Jacob.

In the main, this is Genesis (37/32) saving, as has been noted, the mangled character of the garment. Jos. does not have the sons actually present the tunic to their father, which seems to indicate that his detail about Jacob having heard of what happened before the return of his sons is based upon the literal interpretation of the first part of Gen. 37/32: "And they *sent* the long robe with sleeves and brought it to their father." It would now seem to be a bit clearer why Jos. has not made much of Joseph's coat up to this point. If indeed it had proven such a bone of contention in the overall domestic crisis affecting Jacob's family, the brothers could not possibly have pretended that they did not know it was Joseph's coat.

Jacob, says our author, had been cherishing the more tolerable hope that Joseph had been kidnapped but now, recognizing the tunic as the one Joseph had been wearing when he left home, he regarded it and its condition as manifest proof of Joseph's death and abandoned his former hope. It is this context in Genesis which actually gives the basis for Jos.' supposing the garment itself to have been mangled. The cherished hope of the father that Joseph had been kidnapped is an odd addition, however. If this is to make sense at all, the supposition that Joseph was kidnapped could only be entertained by Jacob after he had heard from the brothers (the only possible source of the news) that Joseph had not been seen by them. This is, in fact, what Jos. makes them say upon arrival. Furthermore, though the brothers are not said to have presented Jacob with the evidence, the entire sense of the scene demands that it is at this precise point that Jacob is confronted with the visible proof. Jos. is quite possibly attempting a harmonization of two contradictory details of Genesis: the fact that the coat was sent ahead, and the presentation of the evidence to Jacob by his sons upon arrival. What he seems to say has been sent ahead is the kind of news the brothers announce upon arrival, but what they bring is the mangled coat. What is curious is not that Jos. has interpreted Gen. 37/32 the way he evidently has, but that he should be so cautious in showing us that he has done so.

¹⁹ The *Book of Jashar* (43/13ff) makes a clean distinction between the sending of the torn coat to Jacob (by the hands of Naphtali) and the arrival of the group, so that Jacob had knowledge of what happened by the time the group arrives.

It must be admitted that Jos. does a good deal of justice to the closing scene of this section. Omitting mention of the daughters of Jacob who occur in Gen. 37/35, our author follows Genesis in spirit and in brevity as he tells us that Jacob's subsequent mourning was such as would be made for the dead. Assuming that Joseph had been killed by wild beasts before reaching his brothers, Jacob mourned thereat as though he had lost the only son he had, depriving himself as he did of any consolation from the others. He sat in sackcloth, and was weighed down with such grief that his sons could not comfort or ease him and he himself could not tire or weary of his woes. The last detail is Jos.' version of: "No, I shall go down to Sheol to my son, mourning." Perhaps nowhere else in his treatment of the Genesis narrative does Flavius Josephus manage to turn so accurately and so well both the sense and the feeling of the original.

In the opinion of the writer, Jos.' version of Genesis 37 is one of his better achievements. It is somewhat tediously lengthy. The Genesis material it incorporates is overly familiar and, as has been pointed out, a congeries of fact and incident often all too casually assembled. The three successive scenes of Jos.' representation are nicely distinct, well organized individually, and lead into one another with ease. For whatever reason, our author has done for this section what we might well presume to be some of the best he can.

(c)

As already noted, Genesis 38 finds no place in Jos.' version of Genesis so we pass at once to the next episode in the life of Joseph which includes Joseph's sale to, and successful stewardship for, Potiphar (Gen. 39/1-6a), the celebrated story of Potiphar's wife (Gen. 39/6b-18), and the subsequent imprisonment of Joseph (Gen. 39/19-23). Jos. is by no means as free and expansive in dealing with these events as he is in some other cases. The omission of all mention of persistent and recurring overtures on the part of the wife (Gen. 39/10) is somewhat surprising, though the absence of her lying declaration of Joseph's alleged crime to the household (Gen. 39/13-15) is in harmony with Gen. 39/11 where it is made clear that the men of the household were not in the house at the time the incident which leads to Joseph's imprisonment is made to take place. This same detail, however, is also absent from most of the versions of the story found elsewhere. The only major addition to the tale is an exchange of speeches between the two protagonists just prior to the critical moment when Joseph, having been set upon, flees. The wife's subsequent address to her husband is somewhat expanded.²⁰

²⁰ Jos.' version of Genesis 39 is quite celebrated among those who look for hellenistic influences in our author. M. HADAS (*Hellenistic Culture* (New York: 1959), p. 155) is

Jos. begins much as does Genesis. Joseph is sold by the merchants to Potiphar (Jos.: *Pentephrēs*) who was an Egyptian and chief cook of king Pharaoh (Jos.: *Pharaōthēs*). While Genesis has God's favours to Joseph make the latter's work prosper and so call him to the attention of the master, Jos., on the other hand, simply says that the master held him in high esteem and gives no reason why. Joseph, according to our author, was given a liberal education (*paideia eleuthera*) by his owner and accorded better fare than was the lot of the ordinary slave; and to him also, as in Genesis, was committed the charge of the household. Jos. adds that in face of all this Joseph did not allow the change of fortune to make him abandon the virtue which enveloped him but showed how a noble spirit, where genuine and not merely accommodating itself to temporal prosperity, can surmount life's trials.

Neither Genesis nor Jos. gives Potiphar's wife a name, so it will be convenient, in lieu of the longer form of reference simply to call her "the woman" throughout this analysis. Jos. leads up to her first overture to Joseph by saying that Joseph was comely in appearance and dexterous in affairs and for these reasons the woman became enamoured of him. Our author continues by telling us that she thought, by making known to Joseph this passion, that she could persuade him to intercourse since she supposed he would think it good fortune to be solicited by his mistress. In this she looked only to the outward guise of his servitude but not to his character which, notwithstanding his change of fortune, stood firm. She then declared her passion and proposed an illicit union.

Jos. has prepared us for Joseph's response to this solicitation by his initial emphasis upon the young slave's stability of character in face of his good fortune, and this virtue is once again underscored when describing the woman's ignorance of the sort of man she was dealing with. Genesis twice over describes Joseph's good looks, the second mention of which Jos. has, perhaps for elegant variation, changed to dexterity in affairs, though this may be due to an interpretation of the LXX's word used in this context.²¹ Joseph's dignity of appearance (a possible translation of the MT's first description of his appearance) Jos. will mention later.

a good example: "Josephus expands five verses into five pages [an exaggeration: author] and fills most of them with rhetorical speeches which dilute the dramatic tension. But his full use of the Phaedra material is palpable, and an earlier study of Martin Braun (whose theme here is the relationship between hellenistic historiography and fiction) shows that almost every clause has recognizable affinities with hellenistic fiction. Josephus must certainly come into consideration as a transmitter of the Phaedra material to later ages." Martin BRAUN's work respecting the hellenistic influences on this portion of the *JA* is certainly important. Cf. both *Griechischer Roman und Hellenistische Geschichtschreibung* (Frankfurt a. M.: 1934) and *History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature* (Oxford: 1938).

²¹ The twofold description occurs in Gen. 39/6b, and the phrases of the LXX are: (1) *kalos tō; eidei*; (2) *horaïos tē; opsei*. The adjective in the second phrase can denote "ready" though coupled with *tē; opsei* as it is, it can hardly mean anything else in the context than that which the LXX obviously intends: "youthful in appearance".

In Genesis, Joseph's reaction is based upon loyalty to his trusting master and respect for God. Jos. does not put this response into direct discourse but the first point made by Joseph in making known his reasons for rejecting the woman's suit combines the themes of Genesis, the theme of loyalty being stressed and the mention of the "sin against God" being transmuted into "iniquity." Jos. has Joseph add to this, however. The woman is besought to govern her passion, Joseph representing the gratification of her lust as hopeless and advising her that this lust would wither and die once the hopelessness of its gratification was perceived by her. He concludes by making reference to the slave-mistress relationship existing between them: Joseph would endure anything rather than obey her in this, for though he should never disobey his mistress, seeing that he is a slave, nevertheless disobedience in this would have abundant excuse.

Perceptible in Jos.' additions to Joseph's response are a certain sympathy for the woman who is told to hold on for a while and this infatuation will pass, as well as a development of the higher loyalty theme.

Without mentioning that the solicitation was continually repeated, Jos. merely says that the woman's love only intensified by unexpected opposition and that much affected by the wicked passion she was determined to delude Jacob, our author mentions for the first time Joseph's famous Jos.' version of the second principal overture.

On this occasion in Genesis Joseph merely enters the house one day when the men of the household are absent. In common with other versions of the tale, Jos. makes this event take place on the day of a public festival when women were accustomed, says our author, to join the general assembly.²² Making illness an excuse to her husband in order to have solitude and leisure to solicit Joseph, the woman addressed him more importunately than before.

Jos. is presumably determined to have the house completely empty, even of female domestics, when the following events take place. The empty house is a theme of Genesis, as we have noted, but it would have been unnecessary to mention the fact that females customarily attended the public assembly unless our author wished to account for the absence of the female members of the household (which neither he nor Genesis in fact mentions), or unless he were determined at all costs to include the feigned sickness theme which occurs here and which in a somewhat different form will occur later in the context of the accusation made by the

Joseph's dexterity in affairs might of course be Jos.' way of summing up at this point what he has failed to mention heretofore: Joseph's efficient management of Potiphar's household.

²² The festival day which called *all* to its observance, as well as the pretended illness of the woman, are details of the story recorded in *Sotah* (36b). The occurrence of a feast at which all were to assist is also mentioned by *Genesis Rabbah* (87/7), *Pesikta Rabbati* (6/2), and *Canticle Rabbah* (1/1/1).

woman to her husband. The (apparent) sickness theme is noteworthy because it is also an element of the story found in the *Testament of Joseph*.²³

The speech of Potiphar's wife which Jos. inserts at this juncture progresses through three stages: (i) the folly of Joseph's former refusal; (ii) alleviation of possible hesitations over consenting to the present overture; (iii) promises and threats. None of it is based on data detectable in Genesis.

The woman tells Joseph it would have been good to surrender the first time out of respect for her and because of that passion which was so great as to make her abase herself beneath her dignity. By a present and better surrender to discretion, that past folly of Joseph's could be repaired.

Turning to the present situation, the woman tries to overcome the hesitancy of Joseph by reference to three possible reasons for his holding back and three corresponding reasons for his not needing to do so. If he wanted a second invitation, well, that was now being made and with greater ardour than was the first. Her sickness? That is pretended. She preferred an interview with Joseph to the feast and assembly. If mistrust was his motive for refusing her the first time, her persistence was token of a lack of guile.

The seamier side of the lady finally emerges. By responding to her love, Joseph could look forward to even greater privileges than those he presently enjoyed, but, if by rejecting her he set more store on a reputation for chastity than on gratification of his mistress, then he could look forward to vengeance and hatred from her. A reputation for chastity would be useless if she should accuse him falsely to her husband of assault upon herself. Potiphar, no matter how untrue her words, would listen to her and not to Joseph.

Jos. ends the account of the woman's words by telling us that she wept while speaking.

The *Testament of Joseph* offers many instances of promises and threats issued to Joseph by Potiphar's wife. The promise of greater privileges in the household is especially clear in this document, and the whole theme of Joseph's reputation for chastity is also made much of, but in a slightly different fashion.²⁴ We shall see in a moment that the tack Joseph takes in answering this speech is also echoed in the *Testament*.

There is as little in Genesis upon which to base the words with which

²³ Cf. p. 236 of this investigation.

²⁴ In the *Testament of Joseph* (4/1-2) we read: "Often therefore did she flatter me with words as a holy man, and guilefully in her talk praise my chastity before her husband while desiring to ensnare me when we were alone. For she lauded me openly as chaste and in secret she said unto me: 'Fear not my husband; for he is persuaded concerning thy chastity; for even should one tell him concerning us, he would not believe'".

Joseph is made to reply as there was to suggest the words to which the reply is made. It is, in fact, hard to know in this context just where Jos. means us to suppose that Joseph has actually begun to express his thought and attitude verbally. Our author begins by saying that neither pity could induce, nor fear compel, Joseph to unchastity. He resisted entreaties and did not yield to threats; he chose to suffer unjustly and endure the severest penalty rather than take advantage of the opportunity by an indulgence for which he knew he would deserve to die. All this is probably meant to be descriptive of Joseph's attitude and to constitute a generalization of his reaction, though Jos.' prose at least intimates that Joseph might be expressing some of this in so many words. The allusion to the death penalty for adultery is interesting.

Henceforward, however, it is clear that Joseph is addressing the woman. The little speech in indirect discourse is couched in contrasting pairs of ideas, one member of the pair being descriptive of the happiness and dignity of marriage, the other bemoaning and decrying the alternative sinful pleasure. There are four such pairs.

Joseph recalls to the woman her marriage and wedded life, and begs her to regard these more than lust's transient pleasures. (1a) Such pleasure would bring remorse and this would make her suffer for her sins without correcting them. (2a) It would also bring fear of detection. (2b) Union with her husband afforded enjoyment without danger, and (1b) a confidence, before God and man, arising from good conscience. (3a) By remaining chaste she would have more command over her husband and exercise her authority as mistress, (3b) while the guilt feeling resultant from being Joseph's partner in sin would prevent this. It is better to place faith (4a) in public reputation for a well spent life than (4b) in the secrecy of crime.

By these and similar arguments, says our author, Joseph tried to curb her impulse and to turn her passion into the path of reason.

The recollection of such values in her married life as the woman is thought capable of appreciating is an element in an address delivered to her by Joseph in the *Testament of Joseph*. In this document, such a reference is made in order to stop her from committing suicide over Joseph's refusal, but the general line taken is somewhat parallel to that which we find in Jos.²⁵

At this juncture, says our author, the woman displayed an even more

²⁵ The episode is recorded in the *Testament of Joseph* (7/3-8) of which only the first three verses are to our purposes: "Then, accordingly seizing an opportunity, she rushed unto me while her husband was yet without, and said unto me: 'I will hang myself, or cast myself over a cliff, if thou wilt not lie with me'. And when I saw the spirit of Beliar was troubling her, I prayed unto the Lord and said unto her: 'Why, wretched woman, art thou troubled and disturbed, blinded through sins? Remember that if thou kill thyself, Asteho, the concubine of thy husband, thy rival, will beat thy children and thou wilt destroy thy memorial from off the earth'."

violent ardour. Despairing of persuasion she would have resort to force and flung her arms about Joseph. In indignation he flees, leaving behind him his cloak (*himation*) by which she had been holding him and which, in leaping from the chamber, he abandoned.

What the woman does now is Jos.' replacement for the calling of the men of the household and the lie about Joseph which the woman tells them (Gen. 39/13-16). She now fears, says Jos., that Joseph will tell her husband and she smarted under the affront of his rejection. For these reasons she resolved to forestall Joseph and falsely accuse him to Potiphar. This avenging of self and accusing of Joseph in advance seemed to her both wise and womanly (*gynaikeion*). She sat with downcast eyes and in confusion, her wrath causing her feigningly to attribute the grief over disappointment to an attempt at violation. Her husband arrived and, being distressed by her appearance, asked the reason for this; and then she began her accusation of Joseph.

The appearance of illness (and not so much its deliberate feigning) is an element in the relations between Joseph and Potiphar's wife as they are retold in the *Testament of Joseph*. It is all the more noteworthy at this juncture because in the *Testament* the husband on one occasion returns home to find his wife apparently ill. Her illness is not, however, due to the cause of which we are treating in this context but another manifestation of her general frustration over being refused by Joseph.²⁶

In Genesis, the point of the wife's accusation is short and simple: "The Hebrew servant whom you have brought among us came in to me to insult me...." The speech which Jos. now puts into the woman's mouth (in direct discourse) returns to this basic fact periodically while interweaving other elements of Jos.' devising. Our author naturally omits her reference to raising her voice and crying out when she was (allegedly) attacked, the lie to the servants not being a part of his version of the episode. In effect, the woman does exactly what Jos. has made her threaten, but she makes no direct reference to the cloak in her speech, our author having her show the evidence at the conclusion of her (mercifully) brief tirade. To make it a bit more clear how Jos. develops his material, the main theme, extracted from Genesis, will be underlined in the summary of the woman's words.

Jos. has her begin with an imprecation by wishing her husband dead if he does not chastise *the wicked slave who tried to defile his bed*. Neither memory of his condition when coming to the house nor memory

²⁶ We find this detail mentioned in the *Testament of Joseph* (7/1-2) just before this source deals with the matter quoted in the foregoing footnote. We read: "But her heart was still set upon evil and she looked around how to ensnare me and sighing deeply she became downcast though she was not sick. And when her husband saw her he said unto her: 'Why is thy countenance fallen?' And she said unto him: 'I have a pain at my heart, and the groanings of my spirit oppress me'. And so he comforted her who was not sick".

of the benefits of Potiphar's bounty have been able to chasten him. Failure on his part to show exemplary conduct would have been ingratitude, but he has gone so far as *to try to abuse Potiphar's wedlock*, and this on a festival, the husband's absence thereat affording the opportunity for which the culprit watched. He merely seemed to be modest, while it was actually fear of Potiphar and not a virtuous disposition which restrained him. His unmerited and unexpected promotion, his charge and administration of the estate, and his preference to senior menials have made him think he has the right *to lay hands even on the master's wife*. Ceasing, says Jos., she showed her husband the cloak pretending that Joseph had left it when he tried to violate her.

In effect, Jos. once again repeats most of the little he draws from Genesis in his concluding remark, leaving one with the impression that what precedes is so much window-dressing. Our author usually does not make this kind of mistake whereby his own prose, straightforward enough when he wishes, is allowed to stand in such contrast to a seemingly unnecessary and longwinded piece of froth. Jos. does take the trouble, however, to incorporate in the woman's words another reference to Joseph's preferential treatment among the slaves which our author has mentioned earlier and which is not really a point made in Genesis.

Hearing the words of his wife is enough for Potiphar's anger to be kindled in Genesis, but Jos. has her tears, her story, and what Potiphar himself saw, leave in the husband no room for incredulity. Joseph is then condemned as a scoundrel and put into the malefactors' prison (Gen.: "the place where the king's prisoners were confined"). Jos. adds that Potiphar was unduly influenced by love of his wife and did not investigate the truth. He gave his wife credit for innocence and after Joseph's imprisonment Potiphar was prouder than before of his wife and made open testimony of her decorum and sobriety. This picture of Potiphar as the doting and credulous pawn of his wife is noteworthy. It is hard to tell whether Jos. means us to think that the husband is a bit weaker, or the wife a bit stronger, than average.

Genesis, on the occasion of Joseph's imprisonment, emphasizes God's fidelity to Joseph (Gen. 39/21). Jos., on the other hand, while bringing God into this episode for the first time, rather portrays Joseph's fidelity to God. Joseph, says our author, committed his cause to God and did not try to defend himself or to render strict account of what had in fact happened. He underwent bonds and prison in silence, being confident that God knew both the cause of the calamity and the truth, and that He would prove stronger than those who had bound Joseph. Of this Providence, adds Jos., Joseph eventually had proof.

Joseph's life in prison is described by Jos. in much the same way as he has chosen to picture his life in the house of Potiphar. It is not God's favour so much as Joseph's naturally good qualities which cause

him to receive special treatment at the hands of the jailer who notes Joseph's diligence, his fidelity over tasks committed to him, and the dignity of his features. But instead of being placed in charge of the prisoners (Gen. 39/22), Jos. says that Joseph was relieved of his chains; his cruel fate was rendered lighter and more tolerable, and rations superior to prisoners' fare were allotted to him. For Jos., favour in the eyes of superiors always seems to imply, at least in Joseph's case, a better diet.

(d)

Joseph's durance, as is well known, leads eventually to association with two formerly distinguished prisoners whose individual dreams he succeeds in interpreting correctly, thus preparing the way for his eventual release and elevation to prominence. Jos.' version of this episode (Genesis 40) is as follows.

Jos.' overall picture of what happens differs somewhat from Genesis. In the latter, the two prisoners are introduced to the prison after Joseph and simultaneously; and Joseph is put in charge of them both. The dreams are said to occur on the same night and the content of each is then consecutively revealed, the first at Joseph's instigation while the chief baker volunteers the information regarding the second. We shall see how Jos. changes this in the course of analysing his treatment, but it is best to note at the beginning that we shall not even hear of the existence of the chief baker, much less of his dream, until the time when he chooses to tell Joseph of the dream's contents.

The king's cup-bearer, formerly held in high esteem but imprisoned by the king in a fit of anger, wore the same fetters as Joseph and thus became more acquainted with him. This prisoner formed a high opinion of Joseph's sagacity. During cessation of hard labours, the prisoners, as is usual with partners in misfortune, spoke of and inquired about the reasons for their confinement.

This picture is consistent with the fact that Jos. has not put Joseph in charge of the prisoners, but it is odd that he mentions the sharing of fetters so shortly after telling us that Joseph no longer had to wear them by grace of the jailer's esteem. In Jos., Joseph never advertises his dream-interpreting abilities, as it is the respect for his sagacity and the general tenor of the off-hours conversation among the prisoners which lead into the revelation of the content of the dream to Joseph by his fellow inmate.

Complaining that the Deity had thus added vexatious dreams to the injuries already inflicted by the king, the cup-bearer recounts his dream and asks Joseph what it means. The dream itself is much as it is in Genesis, Jos. omitting the sudden blossoming of the vine and maturation of its fruit, but emphasizing the gestures of the king who is said to have handed the cup to the cup-bearer and received it back graciously. Joseph is then again asked to say what this portends if he has understanding.

The interpretation of this dream in Genesis is based on two items: the three branches (= three days), and the placing of the cup in Pharaoh's hand (= restoration to former office). Jos. does a slightly curious thing. The three branches are mentioned and interpreted by Joseph, but the placing of the cup in Pharaoh's hand, though somewhat emphasized by our author in his actual narration of the dream itself, is merely mentioned in Joseph's interpretation, the really functional element in this part of the dream's meaning being the wine itself. Joseph is made to say that the fruit of the vine is given by God as a blessing, for it is offered in libation to God Himself and it serves as pledge of fidelity and friendship. This same fruit terminates feuds, banishes the sufferings and sorrows of the drinkers, and wafts them down into delight. This juice, says Jos. through Joseph, was pressed by the cup-bearer's hands and then accepted by the king. Joseph concludes that the king needed his servant's services and would restore his office in three days, according to the number of the vine's branches. Jos. also varies the style of Genesis by having Joseph thus reverse the order of the elements interpreted.

Jos. has allowed Joseph to break into direct discourse just at the point of the dream-interpreting where the passing of the cup to the king is mentioned. The rest of what Joseph has said has been directly quoted and will continue to be so through to the end of what he now adds. The request made to the cup-bearer that he remember Joseph after his release is the same as given in Genesis, Jos. omitting reference to Joseph's being stolen out of the land of the Hebrews (Gen. 40/15a) but sewing a few frills on the recollection of the unjust condemnation, for Joseph says he is suffering the fate of an evil-doer for the sake of virtue and sobriety and that he is in prison because even for his own pleasure he would not wrong the one who had thus wronged him.

Genesis does not tell us what the reaction of the cup-bearer was when receiving this news, but Jos. says that, as might be expected, he rejoiced at this interpretation and eagerly awaited the accomplishment of these disclosures.

We now hear from Jos. for the first time about the chief baker. He had, we are told, been imprisoned with the cup-bearer (cf. Gen. 40/1-3) and Joseph's explanation of the first dream filled him with hope. He too had had a dream the previous night, and asked Joseph to explain the meaning of these visions. In this introduction to the second dream Jos. hardly departs from Gen. 40/16 at all.

The dream which Jos. has the chief baker narrate (in direct discourse) is really not different from what Genesis gives. The three baskets of bread in the uppermost of which are all sorts of baked food for Pharaoh, our author precises into two baskets of bread, and one (the uppermost presumably) of dainties and various meats prepared for kings. Jos. adds that birds flew down and, not attending the baker's efforts to drive them

off, devoured them (presumably the "dainties") all. For all his efforts to render the dream a bit more precise, Jos. has somewhat muddied the waters.

In introducing Joseph's interpretation, Jos. again makes reference to the chief baker's expectation of an encouraging response as adumbrated in Gen. 40/16. Joseph is made to assure the chief baker that he wished he had good news instead of what in fact the dream disclosed. The baskets indicate that the chief baker had but three days to live, and on the third day he would be "affixed," becoming food for fowls and completely powerless to defend himself. The somewhat problematic and ambiguous phrase "lift the head" (Gen. 40/13 and 19) is omitted from both interpretations by Jos., who clearly opts for the hanging of the chief baker (Gen. 40/19) as the basis for his version over the possible alternative of decapitation and subsequent exposure. This is not an illogical choice, seeing that Gen. 40/22, in describing the actual punishment of the chief baker, mentions only hanging.

Things turn out in Jos. just as they do in Genesis (40/20-22), saving that, as frequently before, our author turns the royal feast (on the occasion of which the predicted fates of the two men come to pass) into a sacrifice, still, however, in honour of the king's birthday (Gen. 40/20).

(e)

In the steps of Jos. we now follow Joseph through his emergence from prison, his brilliant rise to power, his life during the seven years of plenty which he had so accurately predicted, and the eventual coming of the famine (Genesis 41).

The interview with King Pharaoh is not much altered by Jos., the general pattern of Genesis suffering but slight modification by the omission of the double narrative of the dreams whose content Jos. reveals only when Joseph himself is being told. Our author will again underscore Joseph's modesty by having him wait for an invitation from the king before going on to suggest a more specific programme for dealing with the coming crisis.

The scene is set for the interview as in Genesis, two years passing and the cup-bearer forgetting about his promise. Then, says Jos., God released Joseph by devising the following scheme for his deliverance. The king had in his dreams two visions and with each was coupled an explanation which, however, the king forgot though he retained the memory of the dreams themselves. As in Genesis (41/8), the king is disturbed by these sights which, says our author, seemed to him of evil aspect.

The interpretations coupled with the dreams seem to be part of a whole exegetical tradition attested by other sources and most likely derived from Joseph's words to the king (Gen. 41/16, echoing the sentiment of

40/8) which Jos. otherwise omits.²⁷ That our author in fact has these particular words in mind when inserting his additional detail may also be signaled by his introduction of the mention of God as deviser of the scheme which is to release Joseph, for God does not appear that often as an active personality in Jos.' version of the Joseph story and the contexts where our author does introduce Him, especially if there is no exact warrant for doing so in Genesis, should at least be noted.

As in Genesis, the king consults experts about his dreams, Jos. omitting the magicians but adding that the king became even more disturbed over the failure of the wise men to afford him an interpretation.

The cup-bearer, however, is waiting in the wings and now enters on cue. Jos. brings him on stage by telling us that he watched the king's perplexity and began to remember Joseph and his skill in dreams (cf. Gen. 41/9: "I remember my faults today"); approaching the king he then speaks of Joseph. What the king is told marches with the content of Gen. 40/10-13, Jos. not hesitating to include the fact (which Genesis passes over) that Joseph was in prison under Potiphar's orders, though, curiously enough, the cup-bearer makes no direct reference to his own imprisonment by the king's orders (cf. Gen. 41/10). Jos. now adds a remark based perhaps on a verse of which he did not take account in the context where it appears in Genesis (40/15a): the cup-bearer tells the king that Joseph, according to his own account, ranked by birth and his father's fame among the foremost Hebrews. The king is then advised not to ignore Joseph because of his present misery, but to send for him and learn the meaning of the dreams.

In bringing Joseph to the king the dispatch with which this is accomplished in Genesis seems to be more in Jos.' mind for he does not allow the prisoner a shave and a change of clothes before appearing before the royal presence. Jos. makes the interview begin on a slightly more personal note than does Genesis by having the king take Joseph's hand and prolong the speech by references to the cup-bearer who recommended Joseph, by a direct appeal to Joseph to help the king as he had helped the king's servant, and by encouraging Joseph to tell the whole truth (however bad), to suppress nothing through fear, and to avoid the flattery which seeks to please with lying speech. Gen. 41/15 is the brief original which is, however, incorporated also into Jos.' version, Joseph's ability at interpreting dreams being transmuted into "excellence and extreme wisdom" in the process. As already noted, Joseph makes no response to this opening.

After the narration of each dream, Jos. makes the king declare how

²⁷ S. RAPPAPORT quotes both *Midrash Hagadol* and *Midrash Aggadah* in support of his statement that both these sources mention the fact that Pharaoh dreamed both the dreams and their interpretations. Cf. *Agada und Exegese*... (Frankfurt a. M.: 1930), footnote 114, p. 111.

disquieted it made him. This is not Genesis, but is based on Gen. 41/8.

The first dream begins with the walk along the river (the Nile is not mentioned by name), and the well-fed kine do not emerge from the river but are walking away from it toward the marshland. These are not followed by the emaciated set, but are met by them, the second group proceeding in a contrary direction out of the marshland whither the fat cows are headed.

As regards the second dream, the king says it was more disquieting than the first. In substance it is the same as Genesis, Jos., however, having the two types of grain exist side by side from the start and altering the description of the withered grain by attributing its poor character to a lack of dew rather than to its being blighted by the east wind. The reference to magicians with which the king concludes (Gen. 41/24) is omitted by our author.

Both Genesis and Jos. treat Joseph's interpretation of the king's dreams in a rather subtle fashion, so it is not a waste of time to dwell somewhat at length on this passage. But before examining Genesis' presentation and contrasting Jos.' thereto, it is better to have a clear idea of the major alterations which our author has made in his version. There are three: (1) Jos. makes Joseph relate the kine to the whole theme of food production by remarking that they are beasts born to labour at the plough; (2) the time lapse, whereby the bad things appear after the good are seen, is an element which Jos. has removed from the account the king has given of his dreams and which does not occur within the interpretation; (3) the emaciated kine in Genesis continue to look emaciated so that a viewer would not know they had eaten and Joseph interprets this as meaning that plenty will be equally unknown, but Jos. has the kine continue to be hungry and makes this symbolize directly how difficult it will be to provide relief for the coming dearth.

Genesis' presentation goes through three separate stages. In the following outline of Genesis the symbols of the dreams will be underlined.

Stage 1 is a justification of the general statement that the dreams are one and includes several elements of interpretation. Both *the seven good kine* and *the seven good ears* mean (a) but one period of (b) seven (c) years. *The seven lean cows that came up after the others* and *the seven blighted ears* are (d) a separate single period of seven years (e) of famine.

When we arrive at stage 2, the style becomes more subtle in that Joseph no longer makes his interpretation connect directly with a mentioned symbol of the dreams. We have mentioned: (a) the seven years of plenty (= *the seven good things*); (b) "...after them will arise..." (= *the time sequence*, now made specific as a subsequent sequence instead of just a separate one); (c) seven years of famine (= *the already interpreted seven bad things*); (d) plenty will be forgotten (= one interpretation of *the viewer's impression of the continuing emaciated appearance of the kine*).

The same subtlety is continued in the two elements of stage 3: (a) the consumption of the land by famine (= Genesis' only interpretation of *the devouring motif*); (b) plenty will be unknown due to grievousness of the famine (= the second and more original interpretation of *the viewer's impression of the continuing emaciated appearance of the kine*).

Jos. has Joseph give the general statement of stage 1, that the dream portends under two forms but one coming event; but the justification of the statement is omitted. Our author then seems to move directly to stage 2 by telling us that the kine which are born to labour under the plough and which were seen being devoured by their inferiors, as well as the ears consumed by lesser ears, foretell for Egypt famine and dearth for as many years as the period of plenty preceding them. We are definitely operating here within the framework of stage 2, though Jos. is having Joseph use more specifically interpretative language (employed by Genesis only in stage 1) in his direct reference to the symbol being interpreted, i.e., the devouring of the good by the bad. Otherwise, Jos. is imitating stage 2 in his general avoidance of specific connections between the symbol and the symbolized, by his including an interpretation of both the good and the bad symbols, and by the allusion to a time sequence. He has altered stage 2, however, by making reference to a set of symbols to begin with, by introducing an allusion to a connection between kine and food production, by building the prediction of a time sequence on the devouring of one group by another and not on their succeeding one another, and by replacing the mention of seven-year periods with periods of equal duration. Omitted altogether is any reference to the fact that plenty will be forgotten.

Moving on to Jos.' version of Genesis' stage 3, we are told that the fertility of former years will be stealthily consumed by sterility of an equal number of years to follow. To provide relief for dearth will be very difficult, as is shown in the fact that the emaciated kine were not *satisfied* by devouring their betters.

It should be obvious by this time how much the image of devouring has made an impression on our author. Here in stage 3 he alters the consumption of the land by famine by returning to a virtual restatement of what he has already said in giving his version of stage 2, thus indicating fairly clearly that it is from the context of stage 3 that he is deriving his whole idea of what the symbol of devouring is supposed to mean in terms of temporal succession. Jos. again departs from the tenor of these later stages of the interpretation by referring to the symbol of the continuing emaciation of the kine but also by interpreting it differently, taking his cue from the statement in Genesis about the coming famine's grievous nature (which is in fact connected in Genesis to the interpretation of the continuing emaciation) in order to make *this* the meaning of the symbol, altering the symbol itself from continuing emaciation to continuing hunger and implying as a middle term (which he does not give) that future insatiable hunger is predicted.

On two major scores, therefore, Jos. has missed or has deliberately chosen to alter points made by Genesis. His version is not an improvement. Determined as Jos. seems to be to give slightly more sophisticated accounts of all dream interpretations, he has in this case unquestionably done less than justice to the treatment.

Omitting all reference to the doubling of the dream as being an indication that the order of providence is now fixed and what is predicted will come quickly, Jos. nonetheless makes Joseph bring in the reference to God which Genesis has already twice made (41/25 and 28) but which our author has consistently by-passed. God, Joseph says, foreshadows what is to come not to distress men, but so that they, when forewarned, may use wisdom to alleviate the portended trials when in fact they occur. The king is advised to husband the bounties the first period will bring and he will thereby make the Egyptians unconscious of the following disaster.

Twice over Genesis makes Joseph tell the king that "God has revealed to Pharaoh what He is about to do." This emphatic repetition would serve only to underscore the idea, already pointed out with reference to Gen. 41/16, that the interpretation of the dreams is contained within the dreams themselves. Jos. at this juncture makes mention of God's revelation of His intentions rather to introduce the caution about future economy which Genesis does not include here. Joseph is being made to make a general suggestion before, having been pressed by the king, he will go on to more (but not much more) specific counsels, never however being made to suggest the appointment of a single man to oversee the counselled project.

Perhaps in order not to make Joseph seem too anxious to be giving advice, Jos. pauses here to make the king marvel at Joseph's discernment and wisdom, after which the king asks how to make provision beforehand during the plenty so as to prepare for the years to follow and to render the period of barrenness more tolerable.

The advice now given by Joseph is hardly more detailed than what he has already said. Jos. makes no mention of putting one man in charge or of any overseers at all. The authority of Pharaoh is not alluded to and the specific counsel to store up one-fifth of the yearly produce is by-passed. Joseph rather suggests being sparing of earth's gifts; the Egyptians should not be permitted to use them extravagantly, and all surplus which could go toward luxury should be reserved against the time of want. Corn should be taken from the cultivators and stored, and only what is sufficient for subsistence should be allowed them to retain. Our author evidently sees no need to stress the point that the food to be stored will be for the cities (cf. Gen. 41/35).

What follows now is but vaguely subsequent to Joseph's interview with the king and cannot actually be thought of as all taking place on

the same occasion. Jos. allows this same vagueness to pervade his version. Beginning with a reiterated statement of the king's (now double) admiration of Joseph (for the interpretation and the counsel), Jos. follows Gen. 41/38-42 by having the king now entrust the administration of this office to Joseph and (our author slightly altering the abruptness of Genesis in keeping Joseph still under Pharaoh's authority) empower him to act as he thought best for the Egyptians and for their sovereign, the king thinking it correct that he who had discovered the course to pursue would prove its best director (cf. Gen. 41/39-40). Joseph is empowered with the king's authority (Gen. 41/41), given the right to use the king's seal (cf. the ring of Gen. 41/42), and robed in fine purple. The last detail is a change from the "garments of fine linen" of Genesis, Jos. omitting the golden chain which is part of Joseph's regalia in the original.

We have now arrived at a point parallel with Gen. 41/43: the mention of Joseph's right to ride in the king's second chariot. Our author, without making reference to the honour, makes this a springboard to effect a jump to the last part of Gen. 41/46 by telling us that Joseph drove a chariot through the land, omitting altogether or for the moment what is included in between. The methods of economizing (Gen. 41/46b-49) are slightly more specific in Jos. Joseph gathers corn from the farmers, doling out to each what would suffice for sowing and for subsistence, but revealing his reasons for doing this to no one. According to Jos., at any rate, the Egyptians are not to be informed of the coming crisis.

Joseph's marriage (Gen. 41/45-46a) is now returned to and recounted. This slight rearrangement of the Genesis order results in the juxtaposition of the marriage and the production of offspring (Gen. 41/50-52). Joseph being thirty years of age (Gen. 41/46) enjoyed every honour at the king's hand. The king called Joseph "Psonthomphanēchos" (MT: *Ṣpnt p'nh*) which, Jos. says, means "discover of secrets" and was given in virtue of Joseph's amazing intelligence. Joseph, the king assisting in the arrangement, marries the virgin "Asennēthis" (MT: Asenath), the daughter of "Pentephres" (MT: Potiphra) priest of Heliopolis (MT: On), thus contracting a distinguished marriage.

Jos. is hardly alone in understanding the name given to Joseph by the king in the MT as somehow derived from the Hebrew *ṣp̄nôt-môp̄iā*^c whose meaning our author actually gives when telling us what the name signifies.²⁸ It is somewhat useless to speculate about whence or how our author derived his peculiar Greek transcription.

In accounting for Joseph's offspring born before the coming of the famine, Jos. says that the elder, "Manassēs", was given this name signifying

²⁸ So *Targum Onkelos* (at Gen. 41/45): "And Pharaoh called the name of Joseph 'the man to whom mysteries are revealed'." *Genesis Rabbah* (90/4) quotes Rabbi Johanan as saying: "The name connotes: 'he reveals things that are hidden and easily declares them'".

"cause of forgetfulness" because in his prosperity Joseph found oblivion of his misfortunes. "Ephraïmes", according to our author, means "restorer" (*apodidous*) because Joseph had been restored (*dia to apodothēnai auton*) to the liberty of his forefathers. In speaking of the reason for Manasseh's name, Jos. does not go as far as Genesis in making Joseph remark on the loss of any memory of his father's house. The etymology of Ephraim's name, however, is something strange. It seems probable that, as our author is obviously not following Genesis which bases this name on the verbal root *PRH*, what he had in mind is that which S. Rappaport proposes: *PR^c*.²⁹ It might just be noted in passing, however, that the Greek verb *aphairein* when used in the middle (and whose participle would hence be the suggestive *aphairoumenos*) has a usage in Plato and the orators which comes very close to the sense given by Jos. to the name of Joseph's second son.³⁰

Throughout this phase of his etymologizing, Jos. omits the mention of God which Genesis is careful to include.

Now, in heralding the arrival of the famine, Jos. finally allows himself to refer in overt language to the seven years which he says were blissfully prosperous according to Joseph's prediction, famine following in the eighth (Gen. 41/53-54a). Jos. once again chooses to underscore the fact that the famine was unexpected (Joseph, it will be remembered, having kept the intentions behind his economy secret). All now flock to the king's gate, and the king calls Joseph who permits them to buy corn (cf. Gen. 41/55-56). Jos. adds that Joseph proved himself by common consent to be the people's saviour.

Jos. has not as yet mentioned the fact that the famine was universal (Gen. 41/54b) and even in the present context (where he says Joseph opened the market not to natives only but to strangers as well: Gen. 41/57) he makes no point of the fact that famine was being experienced elsewhere, this detail being postponed to colour the initial scenes of the following events. We are told, however, that Joseph permitted strangers to buy grain because he held that all men, in virtue of their kinship, should receive succour from those in prosperity.

The highly moral stance of Joseph is not something which is so much created by as dwelt upon by our author. This in itself could result in

²⁹ Cf. S. RAPPAPORT, op. cit., p. 23. As RAPPAPORT explains, this is actually the opinion of R. PLAUT (*Flavius Josephus und die Bibel. Eine kritisch-exegetische Studie* (Berlin: 1867)).

³⁰ The phrase in which this verb is used thus idiomatically is *aphaireisthai (tina) eis eleutherian*, for which Liddell and Scott give both a Latin (*vindicare in libertatem*) and an English ("claim as free") version. The examples are quite numerous and have been checked: PLATO (*Leges*, 914e); ISOCRATES (12/97); DEMOSTHENES (58/19); LYSIAS (23/10); AESCHINES (1/62). If it be true that Jos. is working from this verb in order to derive the meaning of the name Ephraim, it is hardly necessary at this eleventh hour of our investigation to underscore the significance this has with respect to our author's general principles of onomastics.

an enormous imbalance between the character of Joseph and that of his brothers. In leaving this chapter to take up the story of Joseph's eventual confrontation with those who had so injured him it might therefore be well to recall what Jos. has done to instill or emphasize good qualities in at least one if not two of Joseph's brethren. Reuben is clearly the best of the lot and in the character of his argumentation we may even be led to see the suggestion that not only should Joseph not be killed but that he should be restored to his parent(s). This latter detail, however, is, as we have seen, not mentioned specifically by Jos. in the context of Reuben's speech-making although it is a point emphasized by Genesis. By rather subtly incorporating this intention into Reuben's speech but omitting mention of it directly, the suggestion of Reuben that Joseph be left in a pit to die would seem to be intended by our author as a serious one from which Reuben later repents. Judah's suggestion that they sell Joseph and thus become less proximate causes of his eventual (and presumably certain) death appears to be an improvement over the suggestion with which Reuben had felt satisfied. Reuben, though repentant, is too late and he and Judah would seem to wind up on somewhat equal moral footing in the last analysis for both have in fact rejected leaving Joseph in the pit, Judah's expedient but less excellent motive being in the long run more or less equivalent to Reuben's better one, rendered ineffectual as it was by the elder's momentary weakness.

With this summary which I believe to be a fair one, we can now approach the episodes where Reuben and Judah will again figure (the latter much more prominently) in Jos.' narrative.

CHAPTER 9: Climactic Trials

The testing of his brothers by Joseph forms both the bulk and the high-point of one of the principal narrative strands which Genesis interweaves into its account of the history of Jacob's immediate family. Though composed of several consecutive episodes, it is but one story — the longest of the entire first book of the Bible. Jos. has included it in his version of Genesis (*JA* II/95-159) by leaving the main lines of the narrative virtually intact and by taking considerable pains toward the close of the account to expand and elaborate.

Analysis of what Jos. is actually doing in constructing his version of what we read in chapters 42-44 of Genesis becomes somewhat tedious owing chiefly to two influences which were also operative with respect to the first three chapters of Genesis: an over-familiar story line, and a seemingly faithful reproduction of the *substance* of the original. The eye of the reader is not brought to a sudden halt by confronting the introduction of a wholly new episode, nor is there the diversion afforded previously by our author's personal views on topography or the meaning of personal names. The story proceeds in all too uninterrupted a fashion, and the whole project of attempting to focus attention on what makes Jos. different becomes very much like discoursing upon what exactly makes an obvious (but fairly good) copy of a masterpiece differ from the original. Details themselves, together with the slight or subtle shifts in their interrelation, are all important for achieving our purpose, and it is to these often very fine minutiae that we must consistently descend in order to make clear the fact that here, as heretofore, Jos. is going his own way.

The fact that the material to be dealt with is fairly lengthy will offer Jos. the opportunity (of which he has often taken advantage before) to expand or clarify one passage with material from a parallel passage occurring before or after the context with which he happens to be dealing. There are at least two instances of this in the present chapter.

Reuben, who is already something of a hero for Jos., will be introduced twice where no mention of him is made by Genesis, and Judah, who up to this time has remained in the background, will be brought forward as a man of energy and of a hardy nature. To Judah also will be assigned the rôle of delivering the longest and most contrived piece of rhetoric in the entirety of Jos.' version of the Genesis narrative.

It cannot be denied, however, that Jos. shows a real and quite

profound appreciation of the whole classic situation which he is treating. For all the changes he will ring upon the basic theme, he succeeds in leaving little doubt that he both knew and valued what astute readers of Genesis have always perceived and admired in the material we are about to examine.

The three sections into which the present chapter is divided correspond to the three chapters of Genesis (42 - 44) in which the testing of Joseph's brethren is contained.

(a)

Most of the omissions and alterations which Jos. makes in narrating the first journey of Joseph's brethren to Egypt and their return thence can be noted during the course of the analysis of the account. The most obvious change and one which should be noted immediately is the combination into one speech of Gen. 42/10-11 and 42/13. In Genesis these verses are given as emanating from the group of brothers, but Jos. will put them in the mouth of Reuben and expand their content.

Jos. begins by finally and specifically mentioning that the famine affected other areas besides Egypt. This however does not include the whole world as in Genesis, but rather the whole continent.¹ This idea has been already adumbrated by the fact that Joseph has been complimented by our author for selling grain to foreigners also, but the actual mention of a more widespread dearth has been prorogued until the present context. Jos. obviously thinks that selling grain to foreigners during a famine was not as normal a thing as Genesis seems to consider it for, having made this policy the result of Joseph's altruism, he once again refers to it when saying that Jacob heard, not that there was grain in Egypt, but that it was on sale there to non-Egyptians.

As in Genesis, Jacob's sons are dispatched to buy food, Benjamin alone being kept at home. Our author does not mention why Jacob did not send his youngest son, but he takes the trouble, as he frequently does in mentioning a name that has not occurred for some time in his narrative, to identify Benjamin, telling us that he was Jacob's child by Rachel, born of the same mother as Joseph.

On reaching Egypt, says Jos., the brothers went to Joseph to acquire permission to buy, for nothing was done without Joseph's sanction. To pay court to the king profited only if one took care to pay homage also to Joseph. This takes the place of the general description of the occasion when the brothers first confront Joseph, as given in Gen. 42/5-6. The brothers do not bow to the ground (and, *a pari*, Joseph is not said later

¹ Jos.' somewhat vague term *ēpeiros* is not easy to define, but he evidently meant to extend the famine over slightly less large a territory than does the MT. This limitation of the famine's effect is also recorded in *Genesis Rabbah* (90/6) where it is said that Phoenicia, Arabia and Palestine were the places affected (outside Egypt).

to recall his dream of the past), but the note Jos. sounds here is one heard rather in Gen. 41/44 (which he has not accounted for until now) where the king tells Joseph that no man shall lift hand or foot in Egypt without Joseph's consent. The permission to buy is in harmony with the way Jos. has been expressing Joseph's whole policy toward selling grain to foreigners.

Omitting all mention of Joseph's speaking roughly to his brothers or even asking where they come from, Jos. says Joseph recognized them (Gen. 42/7) but they did not know him (Gen. 42/8), for they had no thought of him at all. He was a boy when last seen and age had altered his features so much that he was rendered unrecognizable. His rank too, continues our author, prevented any idea of his real identity from entering their minds.

The rationalizing of the fact that Joseph's brothers did not know him is an exegetical tradition to which Jos. is not the only witness.² Another facet of this same rationalizing tendency is seen in our author's penchant for continually enlightening us regarding the motives for Joseph's actions which Genesis leaves unexplained. The first of these occurs at this juncture, where Jos. says that Joseph now proceeded to test the feelings of his brethren regarding affairs in general. Jos. may not have been too clear on what motives he wished to assign to Joseph because he later mentions additional ones as prompting the following actions.

Jos. by-passes, as we have already noted, Joseph's memory of his former dream (prompted as it is by the Genesis detail, omitted by Jos., which describes the brothers bowing down before Joseph), and, after making it clear that Joseph refused to sell his brothers any corn, goes on to describe (Gen. 42/9b + 12) Joseph's accusations against them. They had come to spy on the king's realm. They had banded together from various quarters.³ They were not kin at all, since it were impossible for a commoner to have raised sons of such distinguished a figure when kings found it hard to do so.⁴

² Traditional exegesis defines Joseph's alteration of features in terms of the beard. Thus *Targum Pseud. Jon.* (at Gen. 42/8) which reads: "Now Joseph recognized his brethren because when separated from them they had the token of the beard; but they did not recognize him because (at that time) he had not the token of the beard and at this hour he had it". Cf. also *Genesis Rabbah* (91/7) and *Baba Metzia* (39b). That it was Joseph's rank that prevented him from being recognized by his brothers is a detail upon which Jos. is in agreement with the *Book of Jashar* (51/20).

³ That the brothers had banded together from various quarters is doubtless Jos.' way of referring to the exegetical tradition which had the ten brothers enter the city by ten separate gates and later gather together — a somewhat odd and suspicious procedure which the fullest form of the tradition (*Book of Jashar*, Ch. 51) rightly makes the basis for Joseph's accusation that the brothers are spies. There is also reference to the ten gates in *Targum Pseud. Jon.* (at Gen. 42/5) and in *Genesis Rabbah* (91/6).

⁴ Allusion is made to the fact that the ten brothers were fine figures of men in *Genesis Rabbah* (91/6) where Gen. 42/1 ("Why do you look at one another?") is understood as meaning: "Why should ye be conspicuous?". They are conspicuous, we are told, because they are strapping and handsome. The conspicuous appearance of the

With all the care our author seems to be taking over making his story into a series of believable and explicable incidents, it is surprising that he did not begin his version of the first confrontation of Joseph and his brethren with the quite natural question regarding the visitors' provenance, for it is a logical beginning to what Jos. obviously means to be a credible dialogue and the gruff tone of Joseph's initial self-address in Genesis leads directly into the accusations which Jos. has him make in any case. The accusation, as is clear from its formulation, has been ornamented with two embellishments which are not, as has been noted, unknown to other sources of exegetical tradition. What is curious is that Jos. should have chosen to include these details, one slightly hysterical, the other shamelessly complimentary, in lieu of the more straightforward and far better conceived particulars which he has evidently chosen to omit.

Joseph's motives for making the accusations are now once again accounted for by our author. Joseph acted thus to discover news of his father and what became of him after Joseph's departure. He also wished to learn of Benjamin, for he feared that his brothers had done to the youngest what they had done to himself. What Joseph is made to want to know is what two later passages (Gen. 43/7 and 44/19) will say he actually asked on this occasion. Jos. harmonizes these later pieces of information with the present passage by making the questions (about which Genesis at this point says nothing) into questions which are in Joseph's mind when thus forcing his brothers to identify themselves. Joseph will later test his brothers' attitude toward Benjamin, but nowhere in Genesis is it even hinted that that there was a suspicion on Joseph's part that harm had come to his uterine brother prior to his brethren's appearance in Egypt.

Jos. now describes the reaction of the brothers to this accusation. They were in trepidation, for they believed the gravest danger to be hanging over their heads. Entertaining no thought at all of their brother, they set themselves to meet these charges and put forward Reuben, the eldest, as their spokesman. According to what has been his frequent policy, Jos. has reminded us who Reuben is.

Genesis 42/9b-13 is arranged as follows: accusation (9b); response of group (10-11); accusation (12); response of group (13). The accusation is the same in each case, so Jos. does not bother repeating it, but combines the two parts of the response into a speech which he puts into Reuben's mouth. In Genesis, the first response of the group is actually the first we hear of the fact that the group are brothers, but Jos., anticipating this

ten leads directly (in *Genesis Rabbah*) into the advice, given by Jacob, that they enter the city by different gates (cf. previous footnote).

piece of information, has already had Joseph refer to their kinship by denying its possibility.⁵

The first part of Reuben's speech (Gen. 42/10-11), all of which is in direct discourse, follows Genesis, adding frills and omitting only the reference to Jacob which is more germane to the matter of the speech's second phase. Reuben declares that they have come intending nothing nefarious or any action mischievous to the king's realm (Gen. 42/11). Rather, they have come to save their lives (Gen. 42/10). They believed they could find refuge from the ills besetting their country in Joseph's humanity, for they had heard that he had opened the corn-market to both fellow citizens and to foreigners in order to provide means of subsistence to all in need.

The chief embellishment of this passage is the theme, by now familiar, of Joseph's admirable altruism in opening the Egyptian corn supplies to outsiders.

The second portion of the speech is sparsely provided for by Genesis which has the brothers respond more capily (and more believably) by giving the absolute minimum of information. Jos. has Reuben tell Joseph well nigh everything there is to know saving one of the few facts that Genesis does give at this juncture, namely, that they are from Canaan. In what immediately follows, where the *present* context of Genesis is built upon it is referred to, the verse which is forming the basis for the narrative being 42/13.

Reuben declares that the fact that they are brothers of one blood (cf. Gen.) is evident from the features of each which differ little. Their father is Jacob who is a Hebrew (cf. Gen.: "...the sons of one man"). They, his twelve sons (cf. Gen.), were born of four wives. While they all lived they were happy. After their brother Joseph's death (cf. Gen.: "...and one is no more") their lot was worsened. Their father long lamented him and they too were in evil case due to (or following[?]) the misfortune of their brother's loss⁶ and their father's misery in old age. They are now come to buy corn, entrusting their father and the household's charge to Benjamin who is the youngest of them (cf. Gen.: "...the youngest is this day with our father"). Joseph can learn whether anything of this is false by merely sending to their house. Thus, says Jos., Reuben tried to make Joseph think better of them, and Joseph learned that Jacob lived and Benjamin had not perished.

The only interesting thing about the speech itself is the reference which is perhaps being made to the misfortune following the loss of Joseph. Among other sources to which it were possible to refer, the *Book of*

⁵ Cf. p. 250 of this investigation.

⁶ The Greek in this instance is slightly ambiguous: *kai hēmeis hypo te tēs epi tōi tethnēkoti symphoras* . . . Cf. H. St.J. THACKERAY, *Josephus with an English Translation* (9 vols.; London-Cambridge, Mass.: 1930), IV, 211.

Jubilees presents a representative selection of the kind of event which both followed the sale of Joseph and which in all justice could be termed a misfortune for the house of Jacob.⁷

Jos.' attitude toward speech-making in general may well be adumbrated in his remark that Reuben was attempting to make Joseph think better of the group, the clear and simple fact (represented by Genesis) that the truth was being spoken on this occasion having evidently made no impression on our author either for the sake of improving the image of the brothers or for rendering the account more human and poignant. Jos. is also quite obviously determined to carry through his narrative the supposition that Joseph had his initial doubts about the continued existence of Benjamin.

Joseph now, according to Jos., threw his brothers into prison, pretending to wish to interrogate them at leisure. On the third day they are released and everything proceeds much as it does in Genesis, Jos. carefully avoiding however any reference to violence. The brothers are not threatened with death if they do not comply, and the hostage, they are assured, will not suffer harm.⁸

None of the events between the brothers' release from prison and their arrival home is related by Jos. exactly as it is found in Genesis.

So, we are told, the brothers were involved in yet greater troubles. Weeping, they continued to deplore to each other Joseph's fate, saying that this was God's chastisement for their plots against their brother. Genesis says nothing of weeping, or, for that matter, of God. The reference of the original at this juncture to the brothers' refusal to listen when Joseph besought them is an event not otherwise recorded in Genesis and not mentioned by Jos. here or elsewhere.⁹ It may, however, be the basis for the way in which he treats the episode of Genesis 37 where he seems to make Joseph present during the brothers' deliberation over his fate.¹⁰

Reuben's words to his brothers at this point (Gen. 42/22) are given something of a new twist by our author, for he is said to have rebuked the others for these regrets which could be no profit to Joseph (cf. Gen.:

⁷ In the *Book of Jubilees* the sale of Joseph takes place at 34/11-12. Before the Joseph story takes up again at 39/1 we have, besides the grief that Joseph's loss caused Jacob (34/13f, 17), the deaths of Bilhah and Dinah (35/15), the death of Rebekah (35/27), the deaths of Isaac (36/18) and Leah (36/21), and the war between Jacob and Esau (37/1 - 38/10).

⁸ The benign character of Joseph's treatment of his brothers as we read of it in Jos. contrasts greatly with the evidence of at least one other tradition. In the *Book of Jashar* (Ch. 51) the group is seen off to prison by a guard of seventy men (51/34-35) and when it comes to the arrest of Simeon (51/39-44) there is an inordinate amount of screaming and scuffling.

⁹ A Joseph pleading with his brothers for his life is not unknown to other sources. For this, cf. *Genesis Rabbah* (91/8) and the *Book of Jashar* (41/28-34). But our author has already indicated in another context that a Joseph silent in adversity is much more to his liking (cf. *JA* II/60 and p. 237 of this investigation).

¹⁰ Cf. pp. 225 and 227 of this investigation.

"Did I not tell you not to sin against the lad? But you would not listen."). He then exhorts them to bear what they must since it was God inflicting it to avenge Joseph. Genesis makes no reference either to exhortation or to God.

As in Genesis, the brothers speak on this occasion supposing that Joseph cannot understand them, but Jos. makes no reference to the presence of an interpreter as the basis for their supposition. He goes on to say that Reuben's words caused them dejection and remorse over the deeds for which they judged themselves now justly punished by God.

Joseph's withdrawal and weeping (Gen. 42/24) is narrated by Jos. and explained (as he tries to do for most of Joseph's actions). This time, Joseph is said to have been upset by seeing his brothers distressed. When he returns to their company, Genesis has him take and bind Simeon in their presence, but Jos., as usual in matters where violence may be inferred, merely says that Simeon is retained as a hostage to ensure their return.

According to our author, Joseph now tells his brothers to buy corn and go. Joseph has, however, previously given orders which, says Jos., were fully carried out. These included the secret placing of the purchase money in each pack and the instruction to allow them to take it away. In Jos., the latter detail replaces the order to give the brothers provision for the journey.

Omitted altogether is the discovery of the money in the mouth of one of the sacks opened to provide provender during the journey for one of the animals (Gen. 42/26-28).

What the brothers tell Jacob on their return is, in Genesis, a little summary of the two confrontations they had with Joseph. It is in fact the narrative pattern given here by Genesis in telling of the first of those two interviews which Jos. has already imitated when constructing that initial exchange (dropping, as he did, the second accusation of Joseph and thereby combining the two responses into one). In the present context, Jos. follows Genesis closely enough, but will omit what he has previously omitted from the matter being repeated (i.e., all mention of Canaan and the fact that Joseph spoke roughly to his brothers) and will, understandably enough, not add the frills which were used to try to impress Joseph. What he does do, and rather curiously at that, is to omit Genesis' reference to Joseph in this context by having the brothers tell Jacob that they had said they were brothers who had left an eleventh at home with their father. The brothers (not as in Genesis) conclude by asking their father not to fear and to send Benjamin back with them. Throughout this passage Joseph is referred to only once, and then as "the governor" (*ho stratēgos*).

What follows now in Genesis is the discovery of the money in the rest of the sacks. Jos. has this take place at the very end of this episode, but

since he has not yet had the brothers discover any money whatsoever, the first they will know of it is when it is found in the sacks of them all.

Jacob, says Jos. was not pleased with what his sons had done. Jos. repeats the sentiments Jacob gives voice to in Genesis, omitting again the reference to Joseph whom, on this occasion, Jacob laments as being no more. Reuben then offers his own sons in exchange, agreeing that Jacob could kill them if anything should happen to Benjamin, but Jacob is not moved. Perhaps because it will later be clear that Reuben has four sons (Gen. 46/9), Jos. omits reference here to the *two* sons which Reuben mentions at this point in Genesis.

The words of Jacob (Gen. 42/38) in response to Reuben are summed up by our author when he tells us that Jacob was not moved. The discovery of the money in the sacks, as already mentioned, now ends this episode, Jos. underscoring, as does Genesis, the perplexity of the brothers (but not, evidently, of Jacob) over this unexpected eventuality.

(b)

Jos. seems to be in some hurry to arrive at the later stages of the story of Joseph's testing of his brethren, for his version of Genesis 43 suffers a good deal of abbreviation, but this will be more than compensated for by the lengthy treatment given the final episodes of the story.

Both Genesis and Jos. begin the narrative of the brothers' second journey to Egypt by noting the continuance of the severe famine and the failure of the corn supply of Jacob's family. Genesis then goes on to give us an account of another little family council which results in Jacob's giving his permission to go and take Benjamin along (Gen. 43/11-14). The fact that such a council ended the previous episode may be the reason why our author opts to vary his account by proceeding at once to telling us that necessity pressured Jacob into sending Benjamin off with his brothers. This having been revealed, Jos. backtracks a bit to give some of the substance of what is, according to Genesis, actually discussed in the family council.

The family council in Genesis progresses through the following exchanges: (1) Jacob (go, buy grain in Egypt); (2) Judah (impossible unless Benjamin come also); (3) Jacob (why did you reveal the fact that there is a Benjamin?); (4) the group (we were questioned about our father and the existence of other siblings); (5) Judah (send Benjamin so that we may not die; I will be surety); (6) Jacob (consent: presents for the governor; double money; Benjamin).

After saying that Jacob is pressured into sending Benjamin to Egypt, Jos. tells us that Jacob did this because it were impossible to depart thither without fulfilling the promise the brothers had made to the governor. This is the substance of (2) in the above outline of Genesis. He goes on

to say that Jacob had no other course open to him because the famine worsened daily and his sons kept entreating him. To whatever extent this last detail is based on Genesis, it seems to be a reversal of (1), where it is Jacob entreating his sons, and not vice versa, which leads to the brothers' second journey.

The exchange contained in (3) and (4) of the above outline is not mentioned at this juncture, the response of the group — in (4) — providing, however, a detail about the brothers' first interview with Joseph which Jos. has already used in speaking of Joseph's motives for conducting himself as he did on that occasion. The next we hear of Jacob's reasons for coming to the conclusion to send Benjamin is an expansion of what Judah is said to have told his father (Gen. 43/8-9 — (5) of the above outline) and which Jos., without making reference to the fact that there was any sort of family council going on when this was said, gives the content of Judah's words as being that which finally swayed the father to take the course he did.

Judah, says Jos., was always of a hardy nature. He told Jacob frankly not to be alarmed for Benjamin and not to fear non-existent dangers. Nothing would happen that God did not send, and this would happen whether Benjamin went or not. Jacob should not condemn them all to certain destruction by not allowing them the provisions that Egypt could provide, especially since this condemnation resulted from such unreasonable fears for Benjamin.

This little piece of fatalistic advice, based more or less on the urging of Judah in Gen. 43/8, is now interrupted by the mention of concern for Simeon. Jacob has already registered his feelings in this regard (Gen. 42/36) and been reported by Jos. as doing so, but our author seems to have special regard for Simeon. At this point, Judah is made to tell Jacob that he should think of Simeon's safety. Hesitation to send Benjamin could condemn the older son to ruin.

Judah concludes by saying that as regards Benjamin Jacob should trust in God but also in Judah himself, for he would either bring Benjamin back safely or die with him. Judah's going surety for Benjamin is the content of Gen. 43/9, Jos. not bothering to record Judah's parting remark that had they not delayed they could by now have made the round-trip twice over. Jos.' whole conception of Judah's promise is in function of how he will make Judah react to the eventual danger threatening Benjamin. At this point in Genesis, Judah does nothing more than say that he will bear the blame personally and forever if Benjamin does not return.¹¹

¹¹ Willingness (on the part of Judah individually, or of the brothers as a group) to *die* — either with or instead of Benjamin — is a theme quite unknown to Genesis. As we shall see later (*JA* II/158), Judah does offer himself to death or slavery in place of Benjamin, but he never again repeats the pledge which he makes in the present context. What the *group* of brothers do is treated on pp. 262-263 of this investigation.

Without having any words pass between Jacob and his sons on the occasion, Jos. now says that the father was persuaded, handing over Benjamin and double the corn price, together with some of the produce of Canaan as a present for Joseph. Jos.' produce includes balsam, myrrh, terebinth and honey.¹² All this is much as in Genesis, but our author colours this scene by certain added touches. The father and children shed many tears at departure, he wondering whether his children would come back safely from this journey, they wondering whether on returning they would find their father in health and not stricken by sorrow over them. They passed a whole day in mourning and left the old man broken-hearted, healing their own grief with hopes for a better future.

These doubts on the parts of both Jacob and his sons reflect elements which Jos. will later add to the speech which Judah makes before Joseph, Jacob's concern for all his sons and not just for Benjamin being the element which is common to both sets of doubts and which is actually Jos.' addition to the picture given by Genesis.

Though Jos. says that when the brothers arrived in Egypt they were conducted to Joseph he means by this not the introduction to the initial interview given in Gen. 43/15b-17, in which Joseph invites them to dinner and where he first sees Benjamin, but the bringing of the brothers to Joseph's house mentioned at the end of Gen. 43/17, our author having omitted the whole first scene. Presumably while being thus conducted the brothers, fearing greatly that they would be accused of fraud over the corn money, made profuse apology to Joseph's steward, saying that they found the money only after returning home and that they had now brought it back. The steward is made to say that he does not know what they mean.

The way the brothers describe the finding of the money in this context in Genesis (43/21) indicates that on the way home all, and not just one (cf. Gen. 42/28), found money in their sacks. It is perhaps for this reason that Jos. has omitted the first discovery of the money altogether. In any case, he makes the words of the brothers on the present occasion fit the version of the story which he has already adopted: that no money was found until the brothers arrived home, and then it was discovered in every sack. Left out of consideration by our author, however, is the reference to "your God and the God of your father" which is so notable a feature of the reply of the steward to the brothers' nervous explanations.

Releasing Simeon, the steward now sees to it that he rejoin his brothers. The brothers themselves are not allowed by Jos. to prepare

¹² Jos.' list is shorter by two than that given in the MT. Though it is somewhat doubtful what *to te tēs balanou myron* means, it has been translated as "balsam" by THACKERAY (*op. cit.*, p. 217) and corresponds more or less to the "balm" of the MT. Jos., "terebinth" is, according to the same authority just cited, probably the "pistachio nuts" of the original. Therefore, Jos. omits only the gum and the almonds.

themselves for Joseph's arrival, Gen. 43/24-25 being by-passed. The next we hear is that Joseph comes back from his attendance on the king and the brothers give him their gifts. Where Joseph came from is Jos.' addition, though once again he fails to mention that the brothers prostrated themselves before the governor when they gave him their gifts.

The exchange of question and answer at this juncture is described rather than quoted, the Genesis account being followed rather closely. Joseph asks about their father, and the brothers respond that he is in good health. Having learnt, says Jos., that his father still lived, Joseph asked about Benjamin whom he had caught sight of — was this their younger brother? The others replying in the affirmative, Joseph responded that God presided over all. Joseph's emotion then reduced him to tears and he withdrew for he did not wish to betray himself to his brothers.

The alterations here are minor, but not without some significance. Genesis has the brothers tell Joseph that their father still lives rather than allowing him, as does Jos., to draw this from their statement that their father is well. The prostration of the brothers is once again omitted (Gen. 43/28b). Joseph's response to the information that this is indeed the youngest brother is the curious one quoted above instead of the more natural (and intelligible) remark of Genesis: "God be gracious to you, my son."¹³ Finally, Joseph's withdrawal to weep is once again explained by our author, Genesis as usual leaving Joseph's reasons for what he is doing unmentioned.

The banquet description is very brief in Jos. Without having Joseph either take the trouble to wash his face or make an extra effort at self-control before confronting his brethren again, Jos. merely says he now invited them to dinner. In Genesis, Joseph does this much earlier in a passage by-passed by our author (Gen. 43/15b-17), and the invitation issued at this point is an interpretation of Joseph's command that food now be served (Gen. 43/31). Jos. makes no mention of Joseph's and the Egyptians' eating at separate tables, much less the reason given by Genesis for this custom. The seating arrangement (Gen. 43/33) is, however, described by Jos. Couches were set for the guests and these were set in an order which was the same as at their father's house.¹⁴ The amazement of the brothers is not mentioned, but Joseph is said to have entertained them cordially, honouring Benjamin with double portions of the dinner before him (Gen. 43/34). Jos. perhaps thinks that the portion offered to Benjamin in Genesis (i.e., five times what the others received) was a bit too much even for a growing boy.

¹³ In Greek, this remark of Joseph's reads: *theon men epi pasi prostatēn eipen*. This constitutes one of the most curious interpretations of his original that we possess from Jos.' pen.

¹⁴ Reclining at table is obviously a facet of his own cultural environment introduced by Jos. into his retelling of the original narrative. The MT has the brothers arranged at table according to age and this our author translates as meaning that they sat in the order which was ordinarily observed at table in their father's house.

(c)

Jos.' narrative now begins to expand and bloom in a fashion which cannot be missed by even the most casual reader of this portion of the *Jewish Antiquities*. For whatever reason, it is this phase not only of the account of Joseph's testing of his brothers but of the whole Joseph story itself which our author has wished to highlight. We have now entered the material which our editions of Genesis designate as chapter 44, and Jos.' version is as follows.

After the supper, says Jos., the brothers retired. Joseph then gives the commands to his steward which are narrated in Gen. 44/1-2 and these are, as Genesis asserts as well, duly carried out. Our author adds the explanation for this action. Joseph's favourite silver drinking-cup is placed in Benjamin's sack in order that Joseph might prove his brothers. Would they assist Benjamin when he was arrested for theft and in evident danger, or would they abandon him and return to Jacob, assured of their own innocence?¹⁵

Though both Genesis and Jos. mention the second concealment of the money in the sacks, neither will make further use of this detail. The reason for Joseph's action is again repeated by Jos. in Joseph's address to his brothers on the occasion of the revelation of his identity (JA II/161). Joseph's motive is clear enough from the text of Genesis, though never mentioned specifically. An element which Jos. does mention in connection with this motive is the testing of the brothers' concern for Jacob, but he more than adequately makes it clear that such a concern did exist.

According to our author, the brothers are unaware of what Joseph has arranged, and at dawn they depart, delighted in having recovered Simeon and in being able to bring back Benjamin according to their promise. The concern for Simeon on Jos.' part is again obvious. More important for future developments, however, is Jos.' subtle change of Judah's responsibility for bringing back Benjamin into a communal one, shared by all the brothers.

Jos. omits telling us of Joseph's dispatch of the steward. The first we know of an actual pursuit's having been arranged is when the brothers are said to have been overtaken not by the steward but by a whole group of horsemen, *among* whom was the servant who had deposited the cup. The brothers are confused by the attack and ask why they are being assailed, seeing that they had just been enjoying both honour and hospitality from him who was the horsemen's master.

¹⁵ Joseph's motive in acting as he does is the same in PHILO's *De Josepho* (232): "All this and what had gone before was intended to test what feeling they showed under the eyes of the governor to his own mother's son. For he feared that they might have had that natural estrangement which the children of a stepmother often show to the family of another wife who was no less esteemed than their own mother."

All this is, of course, pure addition to the Genesis account. Replacing as it does the fact that Joseph ordered the pursuit as well as the fact that he instructed the steward as to what to say when overtaking the brothers, this passage of Jos.' version gives no hint that the pursuit was part of Joseph's plan or that the message about to be delivered to the pursued is based on instructions from Egypt's governor. The message itself, as well as all the subsequent events recorded in Genesis 44, receives its own peculiar measure of expansion and ornamentation.

The pursuers, says Jos., retorted and accused the pursued of being scoundrels (*kakistoi*) who, unmindful of Joseph's hospitality and benevolence, had not hesitated to treat him ill, carrying off the loving-cup (*skyphos*) in which he had pledged their healths. This much is based on Gen. 44/4-5 as to content, and on Gen. 44/6 as to actual occurrence. Jos. is here putting these words in the mouths of the entire group of pursuers, the sentiments being made to seem to spring spontaneously as a response to the initial reaction of the brothers and not to be the mere recital of a prepared script. Our author is also careful to alter the character of the divining cup into the symbol of hospitality which the brothers are accused of flouting.

The rest of what the pursuers say is by way of expansion of what has already been said, Jos. throwing in a few threats for good measure. The brothers accused of setting more store on unjust gain than on the affection which they owed to Joseph and on their own risk if detected; they are threatened with instant penalty for, notwithstanding their flight with the stolen property, they had not escaped the eye of God even though they had eluded the ministering attendant. Jos. allows them to conclude in direct discourse: "And now you ask why we are here as though you did not know; well, chastisement will soon teach you." These and more taunts, adds our author, were also used by the servant to assail them.

Joseph will later be made to refer to God's watchfulness in lieu of his own particular gifts at divining, so that the reference in the present context to the divine omniscience is doubtless a detail drawn from Jos.' desire to expunge divination from his account.¹⁶

The tone of indignation and outrage so obvious in the foregoing is carried through the brothers' response to the accusations. The expression of mere puzzlement and the direct declaration of innocence which are conveyed in Gen. 44/7 are by-passed by Jos. who says that the brothers, being ignorant of their actual position, mocked at the accusations. They expressed surprise at the levity of the servant who would accuse them of fraud when he knew they had brought back the purchase money which was hidden in their sacks on their first return journey. This money they had returned though no one apparently knew they had it — an indication

¹⁶ The later reference is put by Jos. into Joseph's words to his brothers in Gen. 44/15 (cf. p. 241 of this investigation).

of how far they were from deliberate fraud. This much follows the content if not exactly the tone of Gen. 44/8, but in rendering the following verse Jos. makes a slight alteration. Search, think the brothers, would be better justification than denial, so they bid the pursuers investigate, telling them to punish them all if even one of them were convicted. Being innocent and supposing they ran no risk, they spoke boldly. In Genesis, the brothers declare their willingness that the culprit be killed and that the remainder become the servant's slaves; but, as will be seen, Jos. is constantly altering the form and extent of the punishment which he supposes either as pending or as being volunteered for.

Maintaining, as in Genesis, that punishment would fall only on the guilty party, the Egyptians now proceed to the search, the brothers, not as in Genesis, presumably standing back to watch. Our author tells us why the search began with the eldest (Gen. 44/12); the searchers wished to give what they were doing a show of thoroughness for they in fact knew where the cup was. But what was the attitude of the group during the search? Jos. tells us this as well. The rest were relieved for themselves, but they were anxious regarding Benjamin, though confident that he too would be acquitted. They abused the pursuers for stopping the journey upon which they could have by then advanced far. Having thus built up our expectations along with those of the brothers, our author now informs us that Benjamin's sack was searched and the cup found.

The initial reaction to this surprise is described much as in Genesis: the brothers rend their garments (but also give way to moans and lamentations). Yet Jos. is determined to underscore the communal concern for the youngest of the group, and so we are told much more about what the brothers felt at this juncture. They mourned for Benjamin, for his impending punishment, and for themselves who were proven unable to fulfill *their* promise to Jacob. An additional aggravation it was to have been opposed by jealous fortune just when they seemed free of their tragedies. They confessed themselves responsible for Benjamin's misfortune and for the grief this would cause Jacob, both these things being the result of their having forced Jacob to allow Benjamin to come in the first place.

Jos. has already blown up the pursuit of the brothers into one involving a troop of horse and a clash of tongues if not exactly of arms. The drama is now carried through into the arrest of Benjamin. In Genesis the return to the city is merely a matter of everyone reloading his pack animal and going back. Jos. has the horsemen arrest Benjamin and lead him off to Joseph, the brothers following behind. The entire group then appears before the governor, Benjamin in custody and the others in mourners' garb. Joseph is then made to ask (in direct discourse) what attitude they had towards his own generosity or towards God's watchfulness that they should dare to act so toward their benefactor and host.

Once again, Jos. avoids mentioning the prostration of the brothers before Joseph (Gen. 44/14). The mourners' garb is a reference carried over from the fact that the group had rent their garments upon the discovery of the cup, but the burden of Joseph's remark in Genesis is completely altered. The violation of the laws of hospitality which has already been a much stressed theme in the accusations brought against the brothers is again repeated, and Joseph's abilities in the art of divining are, as has been already noted, transmuted into the watchfulness of God.

In Genesis it is Judah who now speaks up, declaring their communal guilt and submitting the whole group, Benjamin included, to slavery. But here Jos. performs one of his many reversals, reserving Judah for slightly later introduction. The whole group offers itself for punishment in place of Benjamin.

Possibly as an interpretation of Genesis' reference to communal guilt at this point, the brothers are made to recall again the outrage they perpetrated upon Joseph. If dead, Joseph was at least free from life's miseries; if loving, God has now seen to it that he was revenged. In either case, Joseph is happier than they. They denounce themselves as sinners against their father, for to that grief which he still felt for Joseph they would now add this sorrow for Benjamin.

In putting this declaration at this point, Jos. clearly has in mind the other passage (Gen. 42/21) where the same group, standing in embarrassment in the presence of the governor who has just told them they must go and bring Benjamin, speak to each other of their guilt over Joseph. This is shown also by what is now added. Reuben, says Jos., also rebuked them. This rebuke is not mentioned in Genesis at this point but is rather a part (Gen. 42/22) of the earlier scene.¹⁷

As in Genesis, Joseph now acquits the group. Jos. colours the acquittal; saying that he is content to punish the child alone, Joseph allows them to go and even promises safe conduct, but states that to release Benjamin for the sake of the others' innocence were as unreasonable as to make them share the penalty of the guilty individual.¹⁸ As a result, all save Judah are confused and speechless with emotion. He, the one who had persuaded his father to send the boy and who was ever a man of energy, resolved to brave the risk of speaking in order to save his brother.

Thus, by the time we reach the speech of Judah which is the climax of the whole episode of Joseph's testing of his brothers, two things have clearly been changed in Jos.' description of the circumstances in which the

¹⁷ Cf. pp. 253-254 of this investigation for the other (and original) context of Reuben's rebuke.

¹⁸ In Jos.' version no one has in fact suggested to Joseph that they share Benjamin's sentence, although this is the alternative which is suggested by Judah and rejected by Joseph in the MT. In the present context, Joseph rejects this unsuggested alternative anyway, along with the one which Jos. has made the brothers (not Judah) put forward: their taking the place of Benjamin in undergoing the consequences of the theft.

address will be delivered. First of all, Benjamin is not being expressly threatened with slavery but with punishment, and this in a fashion at least strongly implying the death penalty; and secondly, Joseph has already turned down the brothers' offer to suffer punishment (as a group, presumably) in *Benjamin's place*. Neither of these details is given in Genesis.

Judah's speech, as it stands in Genesis, has been much admired. The passage is contained in Gen. 44/18-34 and is delivered soberly, without histrionics, but nonetheless quite movingly. It begins (1) with a reference to Joseph's all-powerful position and an appeal both for a hearing and for the restraint of Joseph's wrath (44/18). This is followed by: (2) a recital of the interview in which Joseph had insisted on Benjamin's being brought down to Egypt (44/19-23); (3) a pathetic description of the father's reluctance to part with him in the light of what had happened to a former son (44/24-29); (4) a suggestion of the death stroke which their return without Benjamin would inflict on their aged parent (44/30-31); (5) the speaker's personal request that he be allowed to redeem his honour by taking Benjamin's place as the king's slave (44/32-33).

As Jos. makes clear from the very beginning of what he has Judah say, this speech is a declaration of the brothers' determination to stay with Benjamin and suffer with him. This is actually the theme of Gen. 44/16 which, as has been seen, has been transmuted by our author into the offer that the group suffer *instead* of Benjamin. Judah's argument will in good part rest on the appeal for the acquittal of the whole group who, otherwise, are determined to share whatever happens to Benjamin. Only at the very end, and as a kind of last resort, does Judah mention that he himself will take Benjamin's place by suffering either death (which is not a threat in Genesis) or slavery.¹⁹ The other brothers are then made to fall in front of Joseph and make the same offer. With this general orientation of the passage in mind, we must now confront what Jos. puts into Judah's presentation of his plea. The entirety of the speech is in direct discourse.

The exordium is not that of Genesis. The crime which the brothers have perpetrated is grave and deserves punishment. It is just that they all undergo punishment even though the guilt rests only upon the youngest of their number. They despair of his salvation when judged on his own merits, but their hope is one: the governor's generosity, for it alone vouches for his escape from peril.

The appeal to desist from wrath, which is one of Genesis' opening themes, is now made the focus of argument. Joseph is told not to look at the position of the pleaders or at their crime, but rather at his own nature, making virtue and not wrath his counsellor. Mean men take wrath for strength and have recourse to it in great and trivial matters

¹⁹ This differs also from what Jos. has made Judah promise Jacob: that Judah would, if necessary, die with Benjamin. Cf. p. 256 of this investigation.

alike. Joseph is exhorted to show himself magnanimously wrath's master and not to be overcome by it so as to slay such as make no claims for their lives. Their lives are not theirs to make claims for, but are now in Joseph's hands.²⁰

Jos. now goes on to the second stage of the speech as Genesis gives it by having Judah make reference to the first occasion when the group came to Egypt. The present occasion is not the first time the governor has granted them the boon of life. When previously they came to buy corn, he graciously granted them provisions and enough besides to take to their houses and save their households from starvation. There is no difference between refusing to let men starve to death and refusing to punish apparent sinners grudging that splendid beneficence which he has shown them.²¹ The governor will in effect be but saving those he has already spared for this purpose and preserving such as he would not suffer to succumb to hunger, thus achieving the dual effect of granting them their lives and the continuance thereof in the present distress. For God brought them into their current misery to provide occasion for the display of the governor's virtue. Thus it may be seen that the governor pardons injuries to self and is not merely prepared to grant help to those who are in need for other reasons. Helping the needy is good, but it is more princely to pardon crimes committed against oneself. The indulgent judge receives credit for pardoning light transgressions, but it is like God to refrain from wrath over crimes which expose the culprit's life to his victim's vengeance.

The third stage of the Genesis discourse is now broached with the reference to Jacob's previous sorrow over the loss of a son. In Jos.' version the entire group of sons takes the place of Benjamin in the construction of the argument, which is as follows. Judah says that their father made it apparent in Joseph's case how much he was affected by the loss of children. If it were not for this, Judah, on his part, would never make a plea for their acquittal, save perhaps in order to gratify the governor's natural instinct for generosity. If there were no one to mourn for him and his brothers they would have surrendered themselves to any punishment. They were not moved by pity for themselves (though they

²⁰ PHILO (*De Josepho*, 222-231) also makes something of a rhetorical display out of Judah's speech before Joseph. Jos. has made Judah ask Joseph not to be so far overcome by wrath "as to slay such as make no claim on their own behalf, as though their lives were as yet their own, but who crave them of thy hand." PHILO (*loc. cit.*, 229), having had Judah bid Joseph grant what will be a boon both to Benjamin and to "the father of all these many suppliants", goes on to say: "For suppliants we are who have fled for refuge to your most august right hand which we pray may never fail us".

²¹ This is a most convoluted piece of prose which attempts to do at least three things at once: (a) to draw a parallel between the need for help which starving men have and the brothers' present need of assistance; (b) to exculpate the brothers (who are only apparently criminals); (c) to insinuate that they have been (falsely) accused out of envy.

were dying before enjoying what life had to offer), but it was consideration for their father and compassion for his old age which moved them to place this petition and to plead for their lives which their misdeed had placed in the governor's hands.

The theme of Jacob's probable death (the fourth part of the speech in Genesis) is now taken up. The father of Judah and his brothers was no knave and he did not beget sons who were likely to become such. Rather, he was honest and undeserving of such trials.²² In the absence of his sons he is tortured by anxiety for them. News of their ruin and of its cause will bring him to where he can endure no more. Such news will speed his departure from life and the ignominy of his sons' end will hasten the father's and render it miserable. Their father will have rendered himself insensible before his sons' story even reaches the ears of others.

Since pity for Jacob is, for more than one reason, the most powerful argument of Judah's whole speech, Jos. rightly pauses at this juncture to embroider upon what he has just made Judah say. Joseph is asked to consider what has been said. However the wrong-doing may provoke him, he is exhorted to give to the culprits' father what justice demands, to let pity for him outweigh crime, to respect the old age of one who will die in solitude if he loses his sons, and to grant this in the name of fatherhood. In this name the governor will honour their father and himself; the latter, because he (the governor), who already holds the title of father, will be preserved therein by God (the Father of all), for, in virtue of that name which the governor shares with Him, it will be considered an act of piety toward Him to pity their father the grief he would endure at his sons' loss.

It is when he comes to the fifth and final portion of the speech as we find it in Genesis that Jos. makes most of the changes necessary to fit into his preconceived notion of the entire tenor of this address. The last part of the discourse becomes, in effect, two sections, the first constructed upon a combination (and reinterpretation) of Gen. 44/32 and 34, and the second taking as its focus Gen. 44/33. In Gen. 44/32 and 34 Judah is speaking about himself and his own responsibilities with regard to Benjamin. Jos. transmutes this into the communal responsibility which the whole group feels and which is now made to lie behind that determination to suffer Benjamin's fate which has been the group's declared stance since Judah began his address.

In giving his version of what Genesis has to say in 44/32 and 34, Jos. has the following argument. The governor has the authority to take away what God gave. His part, rather, is to give and not to be outdone by God in charity. It befits one having such two-fold power to display it in generosity and in permanently forgetting his rights to destroy, and to

²² Jacob's character is also a facet of Judah's discourse in PHIL's *De Josepho* (230).

believe that he is empowered only to save and that self-conferred distinction is in direct proportion to the numerical extent of his mercies. But, in pardoning their brother his error, the governor will be the saviour of all. Life for them all would be intolerable if he were punished (cf. Gen. 44/32: "... then I shall bear the blame in the sight of my father all my life."). Without their brother they cannot return in safety to their father (cf Gen. 44/34: "For how can I go back to my father if the lad is not with me ..."). Should he be condemned, Judah begs that in the name of the others they share the punishment as accomplices. They desire to die as equally guilty, not as suicides over grief at their brother's loss.

Judah's plea for the personal exculpation of Benjamin now begins and leads up to the proposition of an alternative to Benjamin's punishment which, as already noted, is based on Gen. 44/33. The culprit (Benjamin) is young and infirm of judgement, and it is only human to show indulgence to such. Reflection on this will however be left to the governor, for Judah will say no more. No more, so that their punishment (if decreed) may seem the result of the omissions of Judah himself; or so that their acquittal may appear the result of the governor's graciousness and grasp of the further (omitted) arguments. Not only will the governor thus save them, but he will present them with what will have shown them to have been even more deserving of success; he will have taken more thought for their salvation than they themselves. If, however, the culprit is to be slain, Judah asks that he be punished instead and the boy sent back to their father. If slavery be Benjamin's decreed lot, Judah is more serviceable — he is, as the governor can see, the one better fitted for either fate.²³

Judah thus concludes his discourse, being glad, says Jos., to endure anything to save his brother. He flings himself at Joseph's feet, trying by any means to soften and appease his wrath. All the others also fall down before Joseph, weeping and offering themselves as victims to save the life of Benjamin.

Finally, and as the dramatic climax to the whole story of Joseph's testing of his brethren, the group is allowed by Jos. to make the gesture which was long since predicted by Joseph's first dream as a boy and which our author has heretofore consistently omitted, even in face of Genesis' reference to its performance on several previous occasion.

The series of episodes whose examination we have just concluded are not an absolute essential to the account of how Jacob and his sons eventually came to live in Egypt. Both Genesis, and anyone wishing to give but

²³ Despite the fact that he has expanded Judah's speech, Jos. has followed the order of the MT in most of the speech's development and structure. It has been noted that PHILO's version of Judah's words bears certain vague similarities to the way in which Jos. presents this speech (cf. footnotes 20 and 22 of this chapter). In general, however, what Jos. does to this context contrasts with the Alexandrian's treatment which is far more prone to rearrange the MT's structure of this discourse.

the bare "historical" outlines of the Genesis narrative, could have by-passed all this completely or with a mere passing reference to the general character of the events which preceded Joseph's revelation of his identity and his sending for his father. It is, after all, Joseph's presence in Egypt and eventual self-revelation which cause the migration of the Israelites southward. That Genesis saw fit to include these chapters has ever been one of the many reasons for the praises justly lavished upon its manifest breadth and profundity. That Jos. also saw fit not only to include this material but to take the trouble over its narration that he obviously has is the point with which it is perhaps best, as well as just, to conclude our examination of what he has done.

CHAPTER 10: Final Events

The episodes which Jos. now undertakes to recount (JA II/160-200) are for the most part but functional elements within larger wholes, either leading on toward or actually forming the conclusion of narrative strands already well developed. It can, I believe, be fairly said that only two incidents actually carry the existing story lines a bit further in that they neither constitute nor lead into the logical termination of a given theme. These are: the description of Joseph's agrarian policy during and after the famine (Gen. 47/13-26), and the episode in which Joseph (again) declares to his brothers his intention not only to forget what they have done to him but also to continue to provide for them (Gen. 50/15-21). But Jos., as always, will be following the basic order of Genesis, and though these two episodes will be brought a bit more to the fore by our author's drastic editing of the lengthy account of Jacob's last hours and subsequent funeral, our author makes no more than average use of the material provided for them by Genesis, what little character they enjoy being due rather to the accidental, and somewhat habitual, haste with which the *Jewish Antiquities* dashes through the concluding events of most any theme.

The sections of the present chapter are so divided that the revelation of Joseph's identity and the subsequent departure homeward of his brothers are treated first. The migration of Jacob's clan to Egypt and their settlement there comprises the second section, the last being devoted to the matter which Jos. bases upon Gen. 47/13 - 50/26.

(a)

In describing Joseph's revelation of his identity to his brethren, Jos. concentrates his efforts upon emphasizing Joseph's forgiveness of those who had done him injury in the past. Though this attitude on Joseph's part is indeed an element in the Genesis presentation, it is by no means as underscored as it is in our author's version of the scene.

Joseph, says Jos., is now betrayed by his emotions and can no longer simulate wrath. As in Genesis, Joseph then orders the room cleared so as to be alone with his brothers when he reveals his identity. Jos. then skips over Joseph's weeping being overheard by the whole household and summarizes the entire actual revelation of identity (Gen. 45/3-4) by merely stating that Joseph told his brothers who he was after everyone was gone,

omitting for the moment any description of the reaction this information prompted in the audience.

Joseph's speech in direct discourse now begins. The exordium is a commendation of the brothers' virtue and their affection for Benjamin. Joseph says that he has found them better men than their plots against him have led him to expect and that all he has done to them has been a test of their brotherly love.

Beginning now to touch on the brothers' former injury to himself as part of a larger providential disposition, Joseph is made to say, in summary, most of what Genesis says in 45/5-8. Not the evil nature of the brothers themselves, but rather the will of God led them to do Joseph ill. The Divine Will was working out the happiness which is now enjoyed and which will continue if God remain gracious.

Joseph is now made to dwell at length on the theme of forgiveness. Having learnt that his father was still alive — something which was beyond his hopes — and having seen the devotion of the brothers to Benjamin, Joseph no more remembers those sins against himself of which the brothers think themselves guilty. He has ceased to bear them malice as though they were culprits and thanks them for assisting God in bringing His purposes to the present issue. Joseph would have them forget the past and rejoice that the old imprudence has resulted as it has; they should not be afflicted with shame for their faults. No grief should be manifested over the wicked sentence passed on Joseph or over remorse thereat, for these designs did not succeed.

The point of Joseph's forgiveness of his brothers having thus been more than thoroughly made, Joseph passes on to his instructions regarding the message to Jacob. In Genesis this message is quoted and extends through 45/9-11, but our author has Joseph merely tell his brothers that they, rejoicing over what God has accomplished, must now go and tell *these things* to their father, and that they should do this lest Jacob's brooding over them (the brothers) end in taking away the best part of Joseph's happiness through a death which would prevent Jacob from coming to him and partaking of their present bliss. It is the brothers (and not Jacob) who are now told by Joseph to migrate to Egypt with their father, their wives, children and kinfolk, Joseph explaining that those he cherishes most must not be separated from prosperity, especially since the famine will continue for another five years.

This is all that Joseph has to say, Jos.' version of his speech ending with the mention of the five years that remain of the famine (Gen. 45/11). The reiteration of his identity by Joseph, his boast of the splendours he enjoys in Egypt, and his repeated insistence that the brothers make haste in bringing Jacob — all of which are contained in the conclusion of Joseph's speech in Genesis (45/12-13) — are omitted. The final detail of this omitted series ("Make haste and bring my father down here")

is couched in such a way by Genesis as to *seem* to place the responsibility for undertaking the suggested migration on the shoulders of the brothers even though the text of Genesis makes it clear that the responsibility for such a move lies with Jacob. It may be due to this otherwise omitted verse, therefore, that Jos. has chosen to have Joseph issue directly to his brethren the invitation to come to Egypt. Certainly the theme of haste, which makes its appearance both in this final line of Joseph's speech as well as at the very beginning of the section in which he begins to urge migration, seems, though it is never specifically mentioned, to lie behind the reason Jos. has Joseph give for the brothers' return homeward: they should go lest Jacob die in the meantime.

Missing from the advice to migrate also are: the mention of any specific plan which Joseph has in mind respecting the settling of his family — a plan which in Genesis is specified by reference to the land of Goshen (never mentioned here or elsewhere by Jos.); the allusion to Joseph's high station (Gen. 45/9).

Though the material of Genesis will still afford him ample opportunity to do so, Jos. will not again, in constructing his version of the first book of the Bible, attempt to put a directly quoted speech into the mouth of one of the persons whose history it is his concern to portray. As far as his version of the Genesis material is concerned, God will be the last to be quoted when addressing Jacob on his way to Egypt. As important an element as his treatment of direct discourse is in the appreciation of how Jos. has been presenting what he has to say, it is nonetheless untrue to say either that he has always made use of this particular literary form whenever there was occasion, or that the use he has made of it has always been apt and for the better advantage of his narrative. Regarding the latter of these two judgments, the ineptness which often results from the incorporation of the somewhat lengthy and (frankly) tedious quotations does not derive so much from the alteration of details which is a consistent feature throughout Jos.' version of Genesis, but rather from the incapacity of his style to make use of clear, simple and brief declarations in order to carry his point with effect. Unfortunately, one of our author's most insufficient tools which he employs in his exegesis is his own literary style.

We must now return to Joseph and his brothers. Omitting mention of Joseph's embracing Benjamin and their joint fit of tears (Gen. 45/14), Jos. tells us that Joseph now embraced his brothers, saying nothing of his weeping (Gen. 45/15) but making the brothers do so in grief over their former designs upon their brother. Our author adds that they found no lack of chastisement in Joseph's forbearance. All this being done, instead of having the brothers talk with Joseph (Gen. 45/15), Jos. says that they resorted to festivity.

Jos. couches his description of the king's reaction to the report about Joseph's brethren in his now familiar combination of hyperbole and

omission of detail. Upon hearing the news that Joseph's brothers had come to him, the king is greatly delighted and acts as though some fortune had befallen himself. The king's personal invitation to Jacob and his family to come to Egypt (Gen. 45/17-18, 20) is omitted, somewhat surprisingly, by Jos., and instead of the wagons offered by the king in order to make the migration possible, our author has the brothers presented by the monarch with wagons full of corn, gold and silver.

The wagon-loads of gold and silver presented to the brothers by the king constitute an addition of a kind by now all too familiar in Jos.' version of Genesis, the more natural and credible features of the original being by-passed for the sake of an unnecessary and gaudy frill. The supply of grain which is provided, however, is doubtless the result of the suggestion of Gen. 45/21 (otherwise omitted) where Joseph equips his brothers with supplies for their journey.

Joseph sends presents to Jacob after also giving some to his brothers (Gen. 45/22-23). This gesture of favour is merely mentioned by Jos. without going into the detail given by Genesis respecting either the *kind* of things sent to Jacob or the especially generous gifts given to Benjamin, our author being satisfied with saying that the latter was favoured more than the others.

According to Jos., the brothers now depart. It is in harmony with our author's evident desire that we should now think of Joseph's brothers as a better and wiser group of men that he omits Joseph's final caution to them upon their departure: "Do not quarrel on the way."

(b)

The migration of Jacob and his family to Egypt (Gen. 45/25 - 47/12) is the event in Israelite history to which the story of Joseph is really but a prologue. This *eisodos* is therefore highly important, both as the culmination of what has gone before and the necessary preliminary for the *exodos* which is to follow and which Jos. will make the subject of the second half of Book II of his *Jewish Antiquities*. For all its centrality to the principal theme of the Pentateuch as well as to the organization of his own work, Jos. does not spend much time on its elaboration.

What the brothers tell their father on their arrival home incorporates a bit of the glitter Jos. has omitted from Joseph's message to his father regarding his own high position. Genesis simply says (45/26) that Jacob is told that Joseph is still alive and that he is ruler over all the land of Egypt. Jos. will have it that Jacob learns not only that Joseph has escaped the death Jacob had mourned so long, but that he lived in splendid fortune, sharing with the king the government of Egypt and having practically the whole charge of it in his hands. In his description of Joseph's office, however, it must be admitted that Jos. is being a bit less hyperbolic than

Genesis. Twice (Gen. 45/9 and 26) Joseph is said to be lord (or ruler) of all (the land of) Egypt. Our author's somewhat conservative adherence to the more objective fact is for him a bit unusual.

Jacob, says Jos., found none of the reports incredible. This was because he reflected on God's mighty power and on the divine benevolence toward himself, even though this was for a time suspended. Jacob then immediately sped forth to Joseph.

The reaction manifested by Jacob on receiving his sons' news is, in Genesis, almost exactly contrary to that presented by Jos. Gen. 45/26 makes it clear enough that on hearing the report Jacob's "heart fainted, for he did not believe them." Only when he heard the words Joseph had said to his brothers and saw the wagons sent in aid of the migration did Jacob revive and make the decision to depart.

As in Genesis, Jacob halts at Beersheba (Jos.: Well of the Oath) and offers sacrifice to God (Whom our author does not bother to specify as the God of Jacob's father Isaac). We are now told what was on Jacob's mind at this time, nothing being said on this score by Genesis itself. Jacob is evidently beset with fears. What concerns him, according to our author, is: that Egypt's prosperity would entrap his sons and their descendants would never return to Canaan to possess it as God promised; that going to Egypt without God's sanction would bring down annihilation upon his race; that he would die without seeing Joseph. Thus preoccupied Jacob fell asleep at the aforementioned stopping-place.

God's words to Jacob in the dream-vision which follows are, point for point, what is given in Genesis, one element alone being treated to a bit of expansion. God, says Jos., appeared to Jacob while he was asleep, calling him twice by name (Genesis: "Jacob, Jacob") to which Jacob responds by asking who is calling. This response in Jos.' view was perhaps a more logical one than that which is given in Genesis ("Here am I") because of the self-identification which is contained in the next words spoken in Genesis by God ("I am God, the God of your father"). In Jos.' version, however, the self-identification of God goes beyond the simple declaration of the original to replace, somewhat lengthily, the assurance which follows in the original ("Do not be afraid to go down to Egypt"). God is made to say that it is not right that Jacob be ignorant of God the protector of his forefathers and of himself. When Jacob was in danger of being deprived of the principedom by his father God gave it to him. God saw to it that Jacob, going all alone to Mesopotamia, was blessed in marriage; and it was God who brought it about that Jacob returned with abundance of children and riches. The preservation of Jacob's progeny has been by His providence; Joseph, whom Jacob thought lost, God has led to great felicity and made lord of Egypt, practically of the same station as its king.

The identity of the Speaker having been thus made abundantly clear,

Jos. goes on to conclude the words of the vision. Now God has come to guide Jacob on his journey (Gen. 46/4a) and to tell him: that he will die in Joseph's arms (cf. Gen. 46/4c); that his progeny will enjoy a long era of dominion and glory (cf. Gen. 46/3c); and that this same progeny will be established by God in the land that He has promised (cf. Gen. 46/4b).

The only important and, of itself, quite unexpected feature of this version of Jacob's dream is the complete justification, on the authority of God Himself, of Jacob's theft of the blessing of Esau. Up to this point Jos. has given no indication whatsoever that Isaac was not acting in perfect accord with his and Esau's rights in desiring to grant his first-born the intended blessing. Furthermore, the one incident which could have given the impression (unwarranted as it might be) that Isaac was *not* acting according to the dispositions of providence — the episode, that is, of Esau's voluntary forgoing of his own birthright — has suffered a twofold de-emphasis at the hands of Jos.: he has transferred it to a much later context than the one in which it appears in Genesis (where it occurs before Isaac decides to bless Esau), and he has shaped its significance in such a way as to have reference chiefly if not quite solely to the derivation of the name "Idumaea." Here, in a much later context, we are confronted with an interpretation of an event in the life of Jacob which Jos. may have thought was necessary for the overall justification of this patriarch but which he also may have felt was a bit too liberal an interpretation to be applied to his presentation of the earlier situation.

The reaction of Jacob to his dream is not given by Genesis. Jos., however, says that he was encouraged and with greater ardour departed thence for Egypt. Gen. 46/5-7 contains a description of the size of the caravan, and our author reduces this to the simple notice that with Jacob were his sons and his sons' children. He takes the trouble to point out at once (cf. Gen. 46/27) that there were seventy in this group. The way in which Jos. expresses himself at this juncture would lead one to believe that the number seventy was made up of Jacob, his sons and his grandchildren. As will appear later, this is not what he wishes to indicate.¹

In broaching the list of Jacob's descendants (Gen. 46/8-27), Jos., for the first occasion in a very long time, steps back from his narrative to deliver a personal view. Our author says he was not inclined to recount the names of these persons, chiefly on account of their difficulty. Nonetheless, he thinks it necessary to mention them in order to confute those who say that "we" are not of Mesopotamian origin but rather are Egyptians.² Jacob, he continues, had twelve sons, of whom Joseph had already departed in advance. The following enumeration is, we are told, of those who followed Jacob and of their descendants.

¹ Cf. *JA* II/183 and pp. 274-277 of this investigation.

² This particular accusation is taken up again and refuted at length in the *Contra Apionem*.

The final point just mentioned is not quite accurate, for although Jos., in indicating that he is excluding Joseph and his sons from the list, is actually following Gen. 46/26-27, he will nonetheless enumerate them (as does Genesis) along with the others.

Genesis lists the descendants of Jacob in four groups, according to the mother from whom each set of offspring traces itself. The order in Genesis is: Leah, Zilpah, Rachel, Bilhah; in Jos., it is: Leah, Rachel, Bilhah, Zilpah. Both because our author has made such a point of the forms of the names themselves (and these, as he gives them, are often quite unusual), but also because it will thus be clearer how Jos. has organized his presentation of this genealogical data, the names of Jacob's descendants had best be included in this analysis.

Jos. lists the following as the descendants of Jacob and Leah:

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Roubēlos (Reuben) | 17. Ioudas (Judah) |
| 2. Anōchēs (Hanoch) | 18. Salas (Shelah) |
| 3. Phalous (Pallu) | 19. Pharesos (Perez) |
| 4. Essarōn (Hezron) | 20. Ezeleos (Zerah) |
| 5. Charmisos (Carmi) | * * * * * |
| * * * * * | 21. Esrōn (Hezron) |
| 6. Symeōn (Simeon) | 22. Amouros (Hamul) |
| 7. Ioumēlos (Jemuel) | * * * * * |
| 8. Iameinos (Jamin) | 23. Isakcharos (Issachar) |
| 9. Pouthodos (Ohad) | 24. Thoulas (Tola) |
| 10. Iachinos (Jachin) | 25. Phrouras (Puvah) |
| 11. Soaros (Zohar) | 26. Iōbos (Iob) |
| 12. Saaras (Shaul) | 27. Samarōn (Shimron) |
| * * * * * | * * * * * |
| 13. Leui (Levi) | 28. Zaboulōn (Zebulun) |
| 14. Gologomēs (Gershon) | 29. Sarados (Sered) |
| 15. Kaathos (Kohath) | 30. Elōn (Elon) |
| 16. Marairos (Merari) | 31. Ianēlos (Jahleel) |
| * * * * * | |

Jos.' presentation scours out Genesis' few asides (Reuben is Jacob's first-born; Simeon's son, Shaul, was the son of a Canaanitish woman; Er and Onan died in the land of Canaan). The order of the names, however, is that of the original. It will be noted that, in keeping with his having omitted Genesis 38 altogether, Er and Onan are not mentioned at all, the list thereby coming to but thirty-one names. In accordance with Gen. 46/15, Jos. will want this list to number thirty-three, so at the end he adds: "This was Leah's progeny; she (Leah) was accompanied by her daughter Dinah." Our author makes up the number by including not just Dinah, which is also done by Genesis (46/15 and 26-27), but by incorporating Leah as well.³

³ Genesis is itself ambiguous regarding the composition of the number seven-

In accounting for those descended of Rachel, the following names are listed:

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Iōsēpos (Joseph) | 8. Gēlas (Gera) |
| 2. Manassēs (Manasseh) | 9. Neemanēs (Naaman) |
| 3. Ephraimēs (Ephraim) | 10. Iēs (Ehi) |
| * * * * * | 11. Arōs (Rosh) |
| 4. Beniamis (Benjamin) | 12. Nomphtēs (Muppim) |
| 5. Bolos (Bela) | 13. Oppais (Huppim) |
| 6. Bakcharis (Becher) | 14. Arodos (Ard) |
| 7. Asabēlos (Ashbel) | |

Genesis employs two styles in listing the names of this genealogy: that of the Leah group, where the names of Jacob's grandchildren (and great-grand children, when they occur) are grouped with the respective son of Jacob from whom they derive; and that of the Rachel group, where Jacob's sons are first mentioned together, and then the descendants of each receive their due attention. Jos. changes the style of the offspring of Jacob through Rachel by having the list resemble the style of the Leah group.

The order in which Jos. gives the names is that of the original. He adds two small touches of his own, however: the number of persons contained in this list (fourteen) is both given and then added to the foregoing total; the general regrouping of the list, whereby Rachel follows Leah, is given its reason in the remark which our author adds after concluding the list of Rachel's offspring: "These are Jacob's offspring born in wedlock."⁴

Jos. now proceeds to list the descendants of those who (presumably) were not born in wedlock, and among these the group deriving from Bilhah takes precedence for our author.

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Danos (Dan) | 5. Sarēs (Jezer) |
| 2. Nephthalis (Naphtali) | 6. Sellimos (Shillem) |
| * * * * * | * * * * * |
| 3. Eliēlos (Jahzeel) | 7. Ousis (Hushim) |
| 4. Gounis (Guni) | |

ty. That Leah makes up the number is the stand taken by Gen. 46 in verses 15, 18, 22 and 25. This is what Jos. is following. In place of Leah, there is a tradition which places Dinah's twin sister (cf. *Baba Bathra*, 123a) in the group, while *Genesis Rabbah* (94/9) knows of a whole series of persons who are likely candidates (e.g., God Himself, Jochebed, Hushim the son of Dan, Serah the daughter of Asher).

⁴ What Jos. actually says is that the descendants through Leah and Rachel were Jacob's *gnēsion genos*. This may seem at least to imply a rather stark judgment respecting the descendants through Bilhah and Zilpah — a judgment which may have been abroad in tradition but which is not emphasized in the MT where all twelve seem to enjoy equal rights.

Though Genesis composes this and the following list in the style of the Leah group, our author presents them both in the style of Genesis' Rachel group, the names of Jacob's sons being given together and before the others. In the present instance Jos. also gives the sons of Naphtali first, thus reversing the general order of the original, though the names within the group appear according to Genesis' arrangement.⁵ Jos. continues his policy of adding the present number of persons to the previous total, thus arriving at the number fifty-four by the time he finishes accounting for the offspring of Bilhah.

The genealogy concludes with the names of those sprung from Zilpah.

- | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Gadēs (Gad) | 9. Ariēlēs (Areli) |
| 2. Asēros (Asher) | * * * * * |
| * * * * * | 10. "a daughter" (Serah) |
| 3. Zophōnias (Ziphion) | 11. Iōmnēs (Imnah) |
| 4. Ougis (Haggi) | 12. Isousios (Ishvah) |
| 5. Sounis (Shuni) | 13. Ēioubēs (Ishvi) |
| 6. Zabron (Ezbon) | 14. Barēs (Beriah) |
| 7. Eirēnēs (Eri) | 15. Abaros (Heber) |
| 8. Erōidēs (Arodi) | 16. Melchiēlos (Malchiel) |

As already noted, the style of this list is altered to imitate that which Genesis uses for the Rachel group, and the only change in the general arrangement is that whereby the daughter of Asher (whom Jos. leaves anonymous) is mentioned before her brothers. These brothers number four in the MT, but Jos. increases them to six, making the last two named into sons of Asher though the Hebrew text lists them as his grandsons (i.e., sons of Beriah).⁶

Having included Joseph and his two sons in the Rachel group of offspring, and having rectified the Leah group by placing Dinah and Leah in the original places of Er and Onan, Jos. is now able to present us with the number seventy at once by adding the number of the Zilpah group (sixteen) to the already arrived at total of fifty-four. Jacob, we are told, is not included in the sum. This non-inclusion of the father of the clan himself is contrary to the view of Genesis (46/26-27) which rectifies the omission of Er and Onan by including Dinah and her father. The mention of Leah's name in Gen. 46/15 has evidently suggested to our author that

⁵ Jos.' variations in the style of presenting the various sections of this genealogy are impossible to account for apart from whatever he may have considered better literary taste. It would seem that it is necessary to take note of them, however, in view of the possibility that the information thus obtained may eventually be of service in linking Jos. to the work of others or in establishing the dependence of others upon him.

⁶ Jos. seems to be unique in his treatment of those whom the MT makes the grandsons of Asher. The *Book of Jubilees* (44/21) omits the pair altogether from its list.

she was to be included in the list, so, in the light of this interpretation, he has either re-interpreted (or failed to interpret at all) the data of Gen. 46/26-27.⁷

Now, in swift succession, occur the meeting of Jacob and Joseph, the announcement to the king of the arrival of Jacob's clan, and the subsequent interviews with the king accorded to Joseph's brothers and father.

Following the LXX more than the somewhat cumbersome phrasing of the MT in rendering Gen. 46/28,⁸ Jos. has Judah go before Jacob (though not sent by him) in order to announce his father's coming to Joseph, and, being thus made aware of Jacob's immediate arrival, Joseph goes forth to meet him and actually does so at Heroopolis (*kath' Hērōōn polin*). The place name is also derived by our author from the LXX which uses it to replace "the land of Goshen" in both Gen. 46/28 and 29.⁹

The meeting of Jacob and Joseph is described by Jos. quite effectively. Jacob, overcome by this great and unexpected joy, almost died, but Joseph revived him. Joseph was not sufficiently master of himself not to be unaffected by delight but, unlike Jacob, he was not overcome by it. This picture is slightly curious in that Genesis states that Joseph wept but is silent regarding any overtly emotional reaction on Jacob's part. Jacob's coming near death (with delight) seems to be an interpretation of the words: "Now let me die since I have seen your face..." (Gen. 46/30).¹⁰

A small section (Gen. 46/31-34) should now follow which contains Joseph's instructions to his brothers regarding what he himself will say to the king when announcing their coming and what they themselves are to respond when questioned about their occupation. Jos. omits this, saying merely that Joseph commanded his father to journey on slowly.

In the meantime, says Jos., Joseph took five of his brothers (Gen. 47/2) and went ahead to the king to tell him that Jacob and his family had arrived (Gen. 47/1, which however gives this message as a direct quote initiating the interview with the king). Though Genesis gives no indication as to how the king reacted, Jos. says that he rejoiced at the news of the

⁷ For the background on the inclusion or omission of Jacob from the list of seventy, cf. p. 274 of this investigation and especially footnote 3 of this chapter. Genesis itself, as part of its ambiguous attitude on the matter, recommends Jacob's inclusion in 46/26-27. This advice is followed by the *Book of Jubilees* (44/18) and *Genesis Rabbah* (94/9). In the latter source, however, Jacob's inclusion is mentioned merely as one among many possibilities (cf. footnote 3 of this chapter).

⁸ In the MT we read: "And he sent Judah before him unto Joseph, to direct his face unto Goshen; and they came into the land of Goshen". This, as J. SKINNER remarks, makes no tolerable sense (cf. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis* (Edinburgh: 1910), p. 495). The LXX gives the following: "Now he sent Judah before him to Joseph that he might meet him at Heroopolis, in the land of Ramesses".

⁹ Cf. the preceding footnote. The LXX (at Gen. 46/29) gives: "And Joseph having got ready his chariots went to meet his father Israel at Heroopolis. And when he saw him he fell on his neck and wept abundantly".

¹⁰ If this is indeed an interpretation of the MT as we have it, it is one which does not seem to be attested elsewhere.

arrival of Jacob and his family. Addressing Joseph (and not the brothers as in Genesis), the king commands him to tell him what type of life the new-comers wished to pursue in Egypt.

Since it is Joseph who has been addressed, it is he who gives the answer which, in fact, seems to be based rather on the instructions to the brothers issued by Joseph in the preceding context (but there omitted by Jos.) than on the words of the brothers which are given in Genesis at this juncture. Joseph replies that they are good shepherds and this was their only occupation (cf. Gen. 46/34). Our author goes on to give the motives for this reply, only the second of which is based upon material from Genesis. Joseph was anxious that the group should not be separated so that, living together, they could look after Jacob. He was also concerned (cf. Gen. 46/34) that they should ingratiate themselves with the Egyptians by not following any of their pursuits, for the Egyptians were forbidden to occupy themselves with pasturage. The reply of the king to the information given him (Gen. 47/5-6) is for the moment by-passed by our author.

Jacob is now introduced into the royal presence, Jos. transmuting his blessing of the king into a salutation joined with the offering of felicitations for the king's reign. As in Genesis, the king asks Jacob how long he has lived, and Jacob's response to this is substantially as we find it in Gen. 47/9: 130 years. But Jos. has the king become excited with admiration at this point, implying that he expressed this sentiment to Jacob. The latter then replies by giving the last portion of what in Genesis is all one declaration (Gen. 47/9): Jacob's years are fewer than his forefathers. Thus, Jos. succeeds in somewhat subtly omitting the central portion of Jacob's words which indicate both his world-weariness and the censure which the fewness of his days implies.

Gen. 47/10-12 contains Jacob's second blessing, and departure from the presence, of the king, as well as Joseph's settling of his family in their new home. This is replaced by Jos. with the king's giving his permission to Jacob to live with his children in Heliopolis (*en Hēliou polei*) for it was there, adds Jos., that his own shepherds had their pasturage. This version of Jos. seems to be a conflation of two passages: Gen. 47/5-6 (by-passed by Jos. in the context where he could have mentioned it), and Gen. 47/11. The first of these is the king's reply addressed to Joseph but made with regard to the information given by Joseph's brothers. In this reply, the king offers Joseph's family their choice of the best of the land, and specifically the land of Goshen, but Joseph is also told that if he knows any able men among them, he is to put them in charge of the king's cattle. The second passage has Joseph giving his family "a possession in the land of Egypt, in the best of the land, in the land of Rameses, as Pharaoh had commanded."

What our author has done seems to be clear enough, but the introduc-

tion of Heliopolis into the narrative, as well as the retention of the apparently contradictory detail that the Egyptians had shepherds (though Jos. has said this was a forbidden occupation among them), are curious. Heliopolis was doubtless somehow suggested to our author by the presence of Rameses (Gen. 47/11) and since this has been already associated by the LXX with Heroopolis, Jos. may simply have confused the two proper names.¹¹ Commentators have pointed out that the abomination of shepherds by the Egyptians is a somewhat unusual detail as we find it in this episode of the Israelite migration to Egypt, but it is not all that unreconcilable with the phrase actually used by the king in Genesis when describing the land where his cattle (*migne*) are fed. For whatever reason, Jos. has interpreted these words of the king to refer to sheep, even in face of his own foregoing (and contradictory) declaration.

(c)

The final series of final events of the Genesis material takes us through the description of Joseph's agrarian policy (Gen. 47/13-26), the death of Jacob (Gen. 47/27 - 49/33), and the history of Jacob's sons following the death of their father (Gen. 50). After telling of Joseph's reform of the Egyptian system of land-tenure, Jos. will speed up his narrative so as to incorporate more of Genesis in less space than he has ever attempted doing throughout his version of the first book of the Bible.

Joseph's agrarian reform is the last section of Genesis which Jos. treats at any length at all. His version is a little outline of the original with a few interesting details added for good measure. The famine, he says, became worse among the Egyptians; the scourge reduced them to ever increasing difficulties for the river had stopped rising to water the land and God sent no rain. They, in their ignorance, had taken no precautions. This curiously etched rendition of Gen. 47/13 omits the original's mention of Canaan as included within the area affected by the famine and by Joseph's administration. Our author's knowledge of Egypt's dependence on its principal river for its food supply is a geographic detail added to what Genesis has to say and, in this context, used to good effect. Unfortunately, he goes a bit too far in including lack of rainfall among his causes of the famine, seeing that Egypt is virtually a rainless country in any case. It is odd that the Egyptians' ignorance should be underscored by Jos., however, since he has made it quite clear that Joseph was careful to keep the coming famine a state secret.¹²

¹¹ Heliopolis and Heroopolis are by no manner of means the same place and it is really impossible to suppose that Jos. simply did not know the difference. He may, however, be deliberately substituting the one for the other due to the association of Moses with Hierapolis—an association made by Manetho and which Jos. does not seem particularly inclined to disavow when in the *Contra Apionem* he deals with what Manetho has had to say of the Jews and the Egyptian period of their past.

¹² Cf. JA II/90 and p. 245 of this investigation.

Gen. 47/14-20 is quickly summed up. Joseph continued to sell the Egyptians corn (Gen. 47/14) and when money failed they bought with flocks and slaves as the means of exchange (cf. Gen. 47/15-17). Any who had a parcel of ground surrendered it for food (Gen. 47/18-19) and the king thus became owner of all their private property (Gen. 47/20).

The MT does mention slavery in this passage (Gen. 47/18-19); for the people offer to exchange both their land and themselves for food. Jos. has evidently employed this reference as his basis for the insertion of the detail (not given by Genesis) that the people exchanged slaves as well as flocks for food. He is about to make use of the slavery theme again, however, in what follows.

The king having become owner of all their private property, the people were transported (cf. Gen. 47/21) in order to assure the king of the possession of their territory. Only the priests were exempt from this for they kept their domains (cf. Gen. 47/22). Famine enslaved minds as well as bodies and drove the Egyptians to degrading means of subsistence. Our author does not tell us why the priests were in a position to keep their property, but he seems to be taking pains to include once again the slavery theme without making it appear too degrading an occurrence in Joseph's own personal history.

Though Genesis does not actually tell us so, everything in this episode after Gen. 47/22 presumes that the famine has now ceased, and Jos. makes this point by informing us that the evil abated, the river again overflowed, and the land yielded its fruits.

In giving his version of Gen. 47/23-25, Jos. will have it that Joseph went to each city and gave back, in perpetuity, the land that the Egyptians had yielded to the king who could in fact have held it and reserved it for his own profit. Joseph tells the people to regard the land as their own and to cultivate it well (cf. Gen. 47/23). Genesis certainly makes no point of the return of the ownership of the land to the original holders, but rather says simply (what Jos. will go on to say as well) that the bulk of the fruits of the land were placed by Joseph at the disposal of those who undertook to cultivate what was originally, but is now no longer, theirs. This is not how Jos. pictures the situation. He goes on to say that Joseph then made it a rule that one-fifth of the land's produce was to go to the king in return for his bestowal of the land which was now really his to bestow (cf. Gen. 47/24). The people are delighted by their unexpected proprietorship and comply with the commands, Joseph thus increasing his reputation among the Egyptians as well as their loyalty to the king (cf. Gen. 47/25: "You have saved our lives; may it please my lord, we will be slaves to Pharaoh"). Jos. has evidently had enough of the slavery theme, so he has transmuted the final declaration of the

Egyptians into a sentiment of loyalty in harmony with his assertion that the people are once again true property owners.

Though Jos. does not make it clear that the one-fifth was to be paid at every harvest (Gen. 47/24), he does go on to account for Gen. 47/26 by saying that the law of payment of the one-fifth of the produce remained in force under the later kings. The exemption of the priests from this law is not referred to by our author.

Jacob's death is now described by Jos. in a short series of details drawn from various contexts of the original. Jacob, we are told, passed seventeen years in Egypt (Gen. 47/28), sickened (Gen. 48/1) and died (Gen. 49/33). Thus, Jos. does not bother to describe at this juncture the growing prosperity of the Israelites in Egypt (Gen. 47/27) though the passages where Jacob expresses his desire not to be buried in Egypt (Gen. 47/29-31) and where Ephraim and Manasseh are incorporated into the Israelite inheritance (Gen. 48/1-7) will receive brief and summary mention shortly. The entirety of Gen. 48/8-22 is left unaccounted for.¹³

Jos. now undertakes to tell us of Jacob's death in a little (but not much) more detail. The scene is that laid for us in Genesis 49. His sons, says Jos., were present at Jacob's death. He offered prayers for their happiness and foretold in prophetic words how each of their descendants was destined to find a habitation in Canaan — a fact which, says Jos., came to pass long after. Jacob praised Joseph highly because he bore his brothers no malice but had given them such presents as some would not even have given benefactors.

This is all that Jos. has to say regarding the celebrated "blessings" of Genesis 49. Our author has stated that Jacob on this occasion offered prayers for his sons' happiness, which is possibly his way of alludings to the fact that Jacob's words are in fact referred to as blessings in Gen. 49/28. The content of these words, however, cannot be said to be always a benediction. Looked at objectively, the picture Genesis actually presents is something like the following:

Reuben	blame
Simeon and Levi	blame
Judah	praise
Zebulun	descriptive oracle
Issachar	descriptive oracle
Dan	descriptive oracle
Gad	descriptive oracle
Asher	praise
Nephtali	praise
Joseph	praise
Benjamin	descriptive oracle

¹³ Cf., however, p. 282 of this investigation.

Only one oracle (given to Joseph) is explicitly a blessing, and only one (given to Simeon and Levi) explicitly a curse.

Seen in the light of the above outline, there are a few things that Jos. has passed over in silence. Among the things he does mention, however, it is difficult to discover whence in Genesis he has derived both Jacob's complimenting Joseph in the terms our author describes, and the prophecy that each of the sons' descendants was destined to find a habitation in Canaan.¹⁴

Returning now to Jacob's last words, we find Jos. making reference to other final dispositions. Jacob charges his sons to reckon among their number Ephraim and Manasseh and to allow them to share in the division of Canaan (cf. Gen. 48/1-7) — of which events, says our author (again), he will speak later. Furthermore, Jacob expresses a desire to be buried in Hebron (Gen. 49/29-32; cf. 47/29-31). So, concludes Jos., he died, having lived in all but three years short of one hundred and fifty (cf. Gen. 47/28), having come behind none of his forefathers in piety towards God, and having met with the recompense which such virtue deserved.

Both in Jacob's last request, as well as in the description of the burial which now follows, Genesis uses a much more elaborate method of describing the place where Jacob is to be interred, but Jos., in both contexts, shortens this designation to "Hebron" which does not appear in these chapters of the original at all.

Almost the entirety of Gen. 50/1-13 is by-passed by Jos. Joseph's sorrow, the Egyptian mourning and burial customs, the detailed interview with Pharaoh, the procession of the great cortège northward, the stop at Atad — all are swept aside. Jos. merely says that, the king approving (Gen. 50/6), Joseph conveyed Jacob's remains to Hebron (Gen. 50/7 and 13) and there gave it sumptuous burial (Gen. 50/12). In Jos.' version, therefore, the final event of Jacob's funeral incorporates (in a word) all the elaborate preparations for it mentioned by Genesis, an evidently more ample rite replacing the original's unadorned notice that burial took place when the group arrived at its destination.

Genesis has his brothers return with Joseph to Egypt and thereupon became afraid that he will take vengeance for the evil they had done him. Jos. has this fear on the brothers' part overtake them before returning and thus be a reason for their not wanting to go back to Egypt. They fear, says Jos., that Jacob being dead, Joseph will avenge himself on them for their plot against him, the fear being grounded on the fact that there no longer existed anyone who would thank Joseph for showing forbearance to them. As in Genesis, but without indicating what argu-

¹⁴ It is more than likely, however, that Jos. is deriving the latter detail from the words which Jacob speaks to Joseph in Gen. 48/21. Though addressed only to Joseph, all the second persons are in the plural: "Then Israel said to Joseph: 'Behold I am about to die but God will be with you and will bring you again to the land of your fathers.'"

ments Joseph used, Jos. says that he persuaded his brothers to have no misgivings and not to regard him with suspicion. He then takes them back with him to Egypt, granting them great possessions and never ceasing to hold them in the highest regard.

Omitted from this little episode is the message which the brothers send to Joseph and which contains what they claim is a death-bed wish of Jacob's pleading clemency for them. The reason which Jos. gives for the brothers' fear, however, is really not as crude as it might at first sound, for Joseph is not being pictured as refraining from vengeance in order to receive Jacob's thanks in return, but in order to do his father the kind of favour he knew Jacob would appreciate. Consideration for Jacob, and not a desire for his thanks, is what Jos. means, his interpretation of Genesis in this case being quite natural and correct. The bestowal of great possessions on his brothers by Joseph at this juncture, as well as his continuing high regard for them, are not contained in Genesis, but the first of these details is doubtless based on Joseph's assurance that he would in fact provide for them and their little ones (Gen. 50/21).

Joseph himself, our author now says, died (Gen. 50/26) at the age of 110 (Gen. 50/22). He was a man, Jos. continues, of great virtue who followed the dictates of reason in directing affairs and who made sparing use of authority; and to this he owed his prosperity among the Egyptians, even though he was a stranger and had begun life among them in the pitiful circumstances already described.¹⁵ The additional happiness of seeing his descendants (Gen. 50/23) is, however, by-passed in this concluding notice of Joseph's character and prosperity.

Jos. now has something to say about the brothers which we do not find in Genesis at all. After happily living in Egypt, they also died and some time afterwards their descendants carried their remains to Hebron and there buried them. This detail is not unique to Jos.' version and is found in authors both before and after the period in which the *Jewish Antiquities* were composed.¹⁶

Our author is now about to conclude his account of Genesis. As for Joseph's bones, he says, it was only later, when the Hebrews migrated from Egypt, that they conveyed them to Canaan in accordance with the

¹⁵ The summary encomium is a standard feature, as we have seen, of Jos.' version of Genesis. Our author has given one to Abraham (I/256), to Isaac (I/346), to Jacob (II/196). Their conventional character is obvious and lends to Jos.' whole approach a dullness which, it must be admitted, is virtually characteristic of the final portions of any relatively lengthy episode he undertakes to relate.

¹⁶ *Genesis Rabbah* (100/11) is witness to the fact that the bones of Joseph's brothers were carried out of Egypt at the time of the Exodus, and this is the tradition also alluded to in *Sota* (7b). The *Book of Jubilees* (46/9) knows of something closer to Jos.' picture: "...and the children of Israel brought forth all the bones of the children of Jacob save the bones of Joseph and they buried them in the field in the double cave in the mountain." In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* all (saving Issachar) are said to have been buried in Hebron and, at least in the case of Simeon, it is clear that this was done before the Exodus.

oath which Joseph had laid upon them (cf. Gen. 50/25). How it fared with each of them, Jos. continues and concludes, and by what efforts they conquered Canaan, "I shall recount, after first relating the reason for which they left Egypt."

We thus bring our examination of Jos.' Genesis to a close at a point which for him is but midway in the development of the story of Israelites' exodus from Egypt. In parting company with our author as he continues on his narrative way, several sentiments are possible. It were better to confine oneself to articulating but one. Jos.' version of Genesis being a "version" only in the broad sense, one could hardly say that the sense and significance of the MT could be adequately reconstructed from Jos. should in fact the Hebrew (and all more literal versions thereof) be lost. What Jos. represents, and represents in written form, is Genesis as it existed in the mind of him (or those) responsible for what we actually read in the first portion of the *Jewish Antiquities*. For those who consider it possible that Genesis itself incorporates into its text (howsoever specifically defined) reaction to and interpretation of already existing literary testimony to past events, the methods employed by Jos. can offer a useful and somewhat exhaustive instance of how rewriting of the Bible can come about. For such as consider this hypothesis impossible, Jos. can and should represent one of the long list of those who have wrested a meaning according to their lights and principles of interpretation from a text which has always been, and will forever remain, the same for all men in all times. In either case, Flavius Josephus constitutes part of a living tradition, and it is to be hoped that one result of the ten chapters of the foregoing analysis has been to portray this life in action.

Conclusion

By this time it is to be hoped that the text of Jos.' treatment of Genesis has been sufficiently analyzed so as to make clear what our author has retold of the prototype and to what extent he may be original when compared and contrasted to the work of others whose interest has also been the retelling of Genesis materials. In summary, however, we will attempt a short review of the thirty-four separate segments into which this investigation is divided. It would be tedious and unnecessary to do this again in the order in which these segments have already been examined. What I propose to do is to review the segments in three groups. The first will contain those portions of the *JA*'s Genesis narrative which stand out owing to the various means whereby, in their retelling, Jos. noticeably expands the form in which we find them in the MT. Next will come the group which is memorable because of the compression, shortening or omissions which they underwent at Jos.' hands. Finally, we must again look at those segments of *JA* I/27 - II/200 in which Jos.' version neither noticeably expands nor contracts the original but strikes a balance in the retelling whereby the differences between Jos. and the MT are more subtle and subcutaneous.

In my opinion, there are ten segments which Jos. noticeably expands:

1. from the birth of Seth to the coming of the Flood (*JA* I/67-88);
2. Nimrod and his Tower (*JA* I/109-121);
3. the Table of Nations (*JA* I/122-147);
4. Abraham's early life (*JA* I/148-160);
5. Abraham's journey to, and sojourn in, Egypt (*JA* I/161-168);
6. the attempted sacrifice of Isaac (*JA* I/222-236);
7. Jacob's arrival in Mesopotamia and his subsequent marriages (*JA* I/285-308);
8. Joseph's dreams and his subsequent enslavement (*JA* II/9-38);
9. the story of Potiphar's wife (*JA* II/39-59); and
10. the final test of Joseph's brethren ending with Judah's speech before his brother (*JA* II/124-159).

These ten segments would probably be the ones remembered most easily by the reader who has been subjected to but a single perusal of Jos.' version of Genesis, but it is important for our purposes to pause for a moment in order to determine why this is so. In the first five of these

segments the new dimensions given by Jos. to his tale are all somewhat alike. All depend on some flashy new facet added to what are familiar and somewhat drab themes. Redisposition of the old materials frequently helps to set off these novel inclusions. Thus, the history and achievements of the Sethites (replacing as they do the dull monotony of Genesis 5), the rebellion fomented by Nimrod, the awesome parade of peoples in the Table of Nations, the early background and character of Abraham, and the religious and academic setting for Abraham's trip to Egypt — all snap at the attention of the reader, who is immediately aware that all this is not quite the story he has heard before. The second five segments of this list all depend on rhetorical expansion for their somewhat new appearance in Jos.' treatment. Abraham's address to Isaac when about to offer him in sacrifice, Jacob's conversations with both Rachel and Laban, Reuben's two addresses to his brothers regarding the fate of Joseph, the conversations of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, and finally Judah's lengthy address to Joseph — these are the elements which Jos. has stressed when retelling the various episodes in question. Jos. shows most dependence on existing exegetical traditions when he is dealing with those segments which do *not* depend upon rhetorical expansion for their development and, with the one exception of the story of Potiphar's wife, he seems to be most on his own when moulding a speech for one of his characters to declaim.

But Jos. appears equally original when dealing with each of the twelve segments which have been chosen to constitute the next group of episodes to be examined — those in which compression, shortening or omission are the bases for the *JA*'s retelling of Genesis. These segments include:

1. the First Creation Story (*JA* I/27-33);
2. from Abraham's separation from Lot to the divine prediction of eventual return from a future Egyptian exile (*JA* I/169-185);
3. the first expulsion of Hagar and the command to observe circumcision (*JA* I/186-193);
4. Abraham's angelic visitors, the destruction of Sodom and its aftermath (*JA* I/194-206);
5. Abraham's relations with Abimelech (*JA* I/207-212);
6. from the death of Sarah to the death of Abraham (*JA* I/237-256);
7. from the births of Isaac's sons to the marriages of Esau (*JA* I/257-266);
8. the flight of Jacob and his subsequent reconciliation with Laban (*JA* I/309-324);
9. from the arrival at Mahanaim to the departure of Esau (*JA* I/325-336);
10. from the arrival at "Skēnai" to the death of Isaac (*JA* I/337-346);
11. the later life of Esau (*JA* II/1-8); and
12. from the institution of Joseph's agrarian policy to the deaths of Joseph and his brethren (*JA* II/189-200).

Jos.' method of compressing these segments is not always the same. In cases 1, 10 and 11 we are dealing with instances where our author decided to compress *all* the matter of Genesis that was to be treated, so that Gen. 1/1 - 2/4a (in 1), Gen. 33/17 - 35/29 (in 10), and Genesis 36 (in 11) are noticeably abbreviated, 10 being subject to this editing in each of its several distinguishable parts. Otherwise, our author focuses on but one or another facet of an episode for his drastic reductions. Thus, among the Abraham stories (i.e., 2 through 6 of the above-mentioned group), only certain chapters or portions thereof are singled out for briefer treatment. These are: in 2, Genesis 13 and 15; in 3, Genesis 17; in 4, Gen. 18/16-33; in 5, Gen. 21/22-32; and in 6, Genesis 23. In 7, much of Isaac's dealing with Abimelech (Genesis 26) is omitted, while in 8 what corresponds to the last half of Genesis 30 and the first half of Genesis 31 is, for the most part, either highly compressed or skipped altogether. When dealing with Jacob's confrontation with Esau in 9, Jos. decides to treat the actual meeting of the two (Gen. 33/1-16) with the utmost dispatch. Finally, in 12, anything after Gen. 47/26 is either summarized most briefly or left out.

By saying that Jos. is original in employing various means to compress or shorten the narrative which he is in the process of retelling it is not meant that he was necessarily devoid of warrant for this kind of operation. Specimens such as the *Book of Jubilees* within the corpus of Pseudepigraphic Literature supply plenty of instances where a given incident or episode is abbreviated or even omitted while the work as a whole continues to carry on with the bulk of the story line as it appears in the MT. What is meant by Jos.' originality in this regard is the particular *pattern* of abbreviation which he chooses to include. No existing work or part thereof exhibits anything close to the pace which Jos. sets into his version by means of his frequent omissions and compressions.

One might well have to be more than just casually acquainted with the text of the *JA* in order to come to grips with the alterations of the MT managed by Jos. in this second group of episodes, but it would require a still deeper acquaintance to isolate the precise changes which he rings in the following. Among the segments which strike a more or less even balance between version and original, I believe the following twelve must be listed:

1. the Second Creation Story (*JA* I/34-40);
2. the first pair's life in the garden and their expulsion therefrom (*JA* I/41-51);
3. Cain and Abel, and the Cainite genealogy (*JA* I/51-66);
4. from the coming of the Flood to the death of Noah (*JA* I/89-108);
5. from the birth of Isaac to the list of Ishmael's descendants which Jos. includes here instead of in the context of Genesis 25 (*JA* I/213-221);
6. Jacob's theft of Isaac's blessing, Esau's third marriage and Jacob's vision at Bethel (*JA* I/267-284);

7. Joseph's interpretation of the prisoners' dreams (*JA* II/60-74);
8. Joseph's interpretation of Pharaoh's dreams and his subsequent rise to power (*JA* II/75-94);
9. the first journey of Joseph's brethren to Egypt (*JA* II/95-113);
10. the second journey to Egypt, up to the end of Genesis 43 (*JA* II/114-123);
11. from Joseph's revelation of his identity to the return of his brethren to Canaan (*JA* II/160-167); and
12. from the announcement to Jacob that Joseph lives to the settlement of the Israelites in their new homes in Egypt (*JA* II/168-188).

It is, I believe, this last group of segments that the investigation which we have concluded serves best. Only the most painstaking analysis can elicit from this type of material a picture of the two opposite poles of originality and dependence. No glib set of generalizations can sum up for this set of episodes the fashion of Jos.' treatment. All that can be summarized at this juncture with reference to this material is that what is to be said thereof is best said only in detail and that such detail is beyond the scope of a mere "conclusion."

To have said this much in summary of the matter which this investigation has treated is to have said perhaps enough. One would like to think, however, that this investigation has also to some extent justified Jos.' own claim to have followed Genesis quite closely, even though the statement that he did so while "neither adding nor omitting anything" (*JA* I/17) must continue to be judged as a bit of hyperbole. His dislike of the direct discourse with which his original was filled is another small point which one feels should again be made before parting from his company. This alone must have made the retelling of the Genesis narrative something of an effort, seeing that there is, in every chapter but Genesis 36, some form of direct quote, even though in a few cases it be but a verse. As for some of the other quirks we have seen operative in our author, his likely desire to see himself mirrored in the character of Joseph is but a vanity to be tolerated, his proclivity to turn feasts into sacrifices, a foible to be indulged, his fear of offending his Roman masters by mention of any kind of eternal Jewish claim to the land Rome then held, a weakness to be overlooked. Although it was not the revelation of Jos.' person and personality which was the primary target of our investigation, it was noted at the beginning of the Introduction that whatever might be discovered along this line, howsoever little, would be gratefully received. It is right, therefore, that we make mention of these few details, minor as they are, before taking up the final point in this Conclusion.

Some few rather general remarks have already been made in passing with respect to Jos.' originality or lack thereof in retelling the Genesis narrative. These remarks were intended as pertinent if slightly superficial

comment on some of the episodes which we have grouped together for review. Addressing this whole question now more directly and seriously, I think it necessary to mention by way of conclusion that our analysis of Jos.' handling of Genesis in the light of Pseudepigraphic, Targumic and Midrashic sources has shown Jos. to be engaged in a great deal more reshaping of his original than anyone I know has yet taken the trouble to point out. A quantity of this reshaping has actually been isolated by our investigation and much of it remains unrelated to any known exegetical tradition. It is hard to give a global characterization of Jos.' method itself; perhaps it were best merely to say that he represents a variety of approaches to retelling his original and to let it go at that. On the surface, his version of Genesis has some of the ungoverned, creative and slightly erratic aura about it which one frequently perceives in the general style and approach of a Pseudepigraph. This, however, is but an impression deriving from less acquaintance with our author than this investigation has allowed us to continue to have. Beneath the surface of Jos.' style we have found a far more careful author who is toeing the line of the text of his original quite faithfully and whose alterations may represent exegetical traditions much better thought out than has been heretofore supposed.

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